THE HISTORY OF LONDON TOWN, MARYLAND : A CASE STUDY OF AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHESAPEAKE TOBACCO PORT AND ITS ROLE IN THE COLONIAL MARITIME ECONOMY

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
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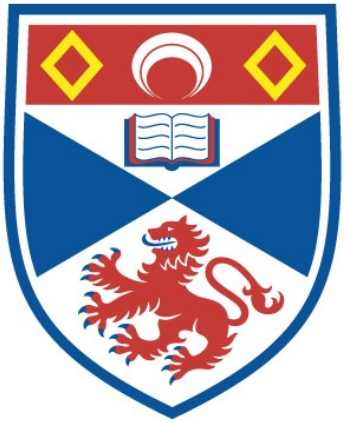

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The History of London Town, Maryland

A Case Study of an Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Tobacco Port and its Role in the Colonial Maritime Economy

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of History

The University of St Andrews, Scotland

Dr C J M Martin, Advisor

By

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4 September, 2003

Abstract

Presented herein is a detailed study of London Town, a tobacco port in Anne Arundel County, Maryland established during the British colonial period in North America. Long defunct, the town has been the subject of archaeological excavations since 1995. This research was undertaken to answer questions regarding the town's history, economic system, and its role in the local economy: what was the nature of the town; who lived in the town; and what were the forces that caused the town to grow and subsequently fail? Answering these questions has revealed a comprehensive portrait of London Town's undocumented past.

This research proves that London Town played an important role in the economic development of Maryland and Anne Arundel County. It was one of many towns established in 1683 by the Maryland Assembly in the "Act for the Advancement of Trade." Only a small number of these towns survived beyond the colonial period. Those tobacco towns that have disappeared have been labeled the "lost towns" of Maryland by local historians and archaeologists: few of these towns have been studied in any detail. This study of London Town combines historical and archaeological research to illustrate the impact that outside forces such as war, market pressures, and regional development had on its growth and existence. This work documents the history of London Town and its role in the colonial mercantile system during the eighteenth century and is presented as a case study for future comparison.

Declarations

I, Mechelle L. Kerns-Nocerito, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 98,517 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it had not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date: September 5, 2003 Signature of Candidate: _____

I was admitted as a research student in September, 1999 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in November, 1999; the higher study for which this thesis is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 1999 and 2003.

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I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulation appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, History in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application of that degree.

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Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the staffs of the following institutions for their assistance with this research The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; The National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh; The British Library, London; Public Record Office-The National Archives, Kew; Guildhall Library, London; The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich; The Library of Congress, Washington; The Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; The Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville and especially the Maryland State Archives, Annapolis. My deep appreciation to my colleagues at Anne Arundel County's *Lost Towns Project* for their support and assistance, in particular to Jane Cox for her mapping expertise and Dr. Al Luckenbach for his patience and cooperation during this long process. Many thanks to Dr. Gregory Stiverson, Dr. Andrew Veech, Dr. Sarah Pearsall, and Dr. Susan Langley for their input. Margot Resto, Bernice Hughes, and Erin Dent all helped me see my mistakes, find my voice and offered their eyes and ears: my heartfelt thanks to you all. I owe deep gratitude to Dr. Paula Martin for her input and many wonderful suggestions regarding format, content, and presentation. This work would not have been possible without the encouragement and support of my advisor, Dr. Colin Martin. I will forever be grateful to him for taking me on and remaining supportive throughout this process. Finally, I would like to thank my mother Susan Pendleton, for her support and tolerance of my necessary but unintentional neglect, and my husband Frank Nocerito. He has been by my side from the very first day, through all the travel (and expense), time apart, long nights of reading and rereading, always bolstering my sprits, telling me to go on and having faith that I could complete this task. What would I do without you? *Thank you* is not strong enough.

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List of Abbreviations:

AA Co.	Anne Arundel County, Maryland
LOC	Library of Congress (Washington, DC)
MdHS	Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore, Maryland)
MGS	Maryland Geological Survey
MSA	Maryland State Archives (Annapolis, Maryland)
NNM	National Maritime Museum Greenwich (Greenwich, England)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition 1989
PRO	Public Record Office (Kew, London, England)
PRO-NAS	Public Record Office, National Archives of Scotland (Edinburgh, Scotland)
USGS	United States Geological Survey

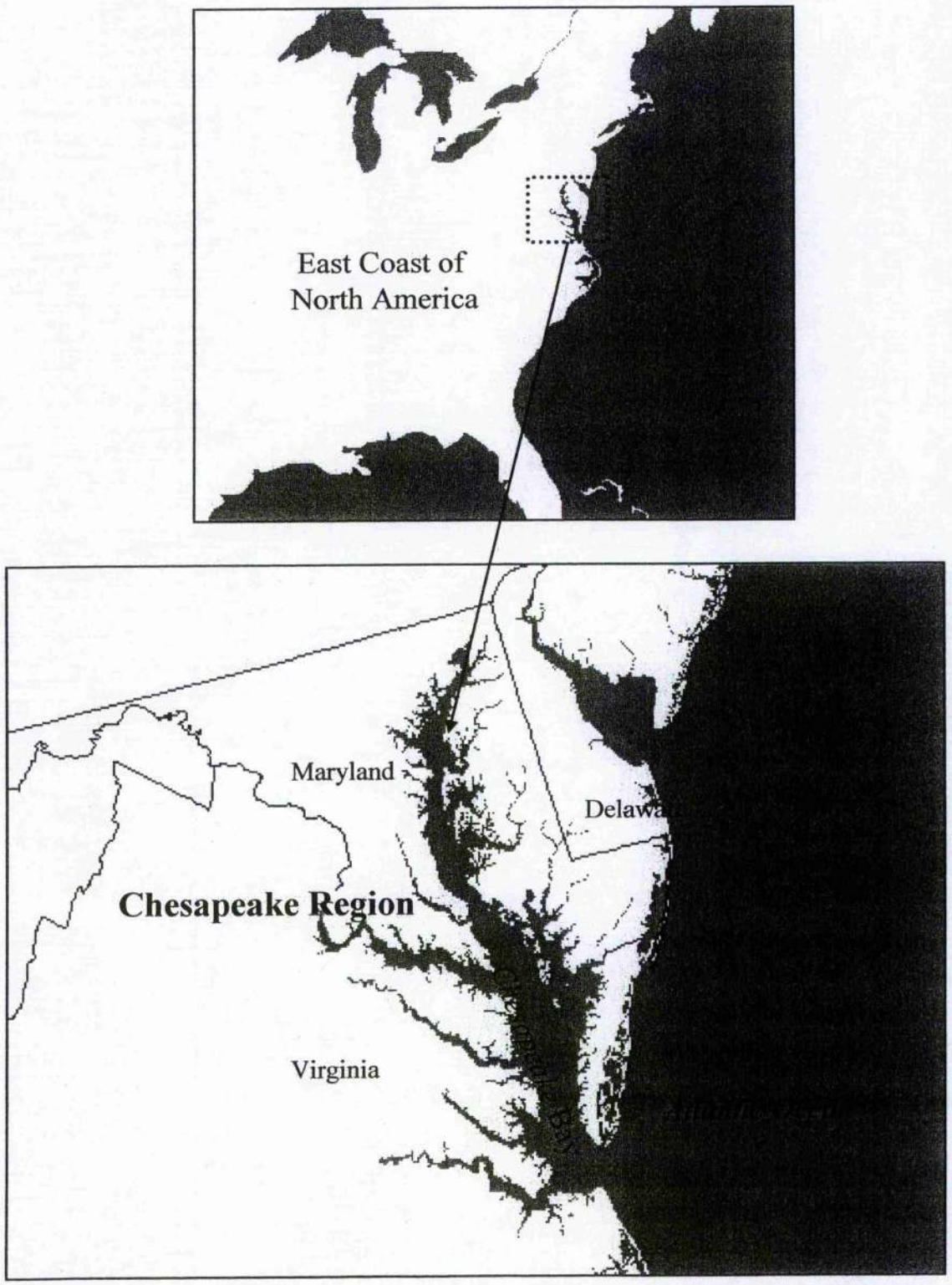
Chapter 1: Introduction

INTRODUCTION

Through detailed study of one colonial Chesapeake town, London Town, this dissertation examines the economic and physical development and the nature of international trade in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, during British Colonial rule over the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. (Figure 1.1) Ongoing (from 1995 to the present) archaeological excavations of the colonial tobacco port of London Town have raised many questions regarding the town's role in the local and regional economy, its level of development, and why it did not survive the colonial period. The questions are rudimentary and based in historical particularism: who and what contributed to the creation of London Town, what were the characteristics of the town and where did the people come from and what was their role in the town? Additionally, were there other towns like London Town and how were they similar or different? Detailed information on London Town, its residents, and elements that affected its rise and fall are provided herein with summary comparisons to other tobacco towns. This work represents the most in-depth and detailed research on a "lost town" or on any defunct tobacco town of the colonial Chesapeake region and examines characteristics, materials, and mechanisms of colonial life and the fluctuation in Chesapeake trade and production. It tracks and explains the life and death of colonial London Town, which existed as a tobacco port from 1684 to approximately 1800, and shows how settlements like London Town contributed to the development of Maryland: This thesis resulted in a body of data ideal for a case study or base line, which other historical and archaeological sites could be compared.

Many "tobacco towns" established during the colonial period did not

Figure 1.1
Map of Chesapeake Region



Adapted by the author from Rand McNally, *Tripmaker 2000 CD* (Illinois:Rand McNally, 2000).

survive the economic pressures of the American Revolution. London Town was one such casualty.[1] These small trading ports dotted the rivers of the Chesapeake Bay, exporting tobacco and importing nearly everything else while under control of the Board of Trade.[2] This administrative body played a significant role in the commerce of the colonies. It promoted not only single crop mercantile arrangements, but also restricted what colonies could produce. The Board's interest was not necessarily the same as the colony but to assure profit for the King of England. Separation of the colonies from the government of Britain, after the 1776 revolution, removed the forces that both promoted trade and restricted autonomous development. These parameters both helped and eventually hurt London Town: the restrictions helped create the tobacco market but when the market disintegrated so did the port's reason for existence.

This thesis is divided into 10 chapters each addressing different aspects of London Town's development, economic and social structure and eventual decline. Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the subject and the context of the research as well as sources and methods of study. Chapter 2 provides historical background regarding the settlement of the Chesapeake region and the colonization of Maryland, outlining its dependence on the tobacco trade and the development of that trade in the colonies of both Virginia and Maryland. This section also outlines the population growth of both white immigrants and black slaves in Anne Arundel

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[1] Joseph B. Thomas, Jr., *Settlement, Community and Economy: The Development of Towns on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore, 1660-1775,* Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Maryland, 1994. In his work, Thomas studies the development of towns like London Town and the reasons behind their success or failure. However, his work concentrates on a different geographic area of Maryland, the more rural and isolated southern Eastern Shore.

[2] Oliver Morton Dickerson, *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765* (Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912), 18-19, 23-25, 227-228 and 309. Lords of Committee of Trade and Plantations, or simply Lords of Trade, operated the Board of Trade. They answered to the King and oversaw issues regarding trade and manufacturing in the colonies.

County, and Maryland and the role of London Town in the development of the region. Chapter 3 traces the genesis of London Town via a detailed study of legislation that established and promoted such settlements. Through the study of legislative documents and land records, the design of the settlement and the type of buildings in the town can be established: all now (save for one brick structure) have been reduced to archaeological features. This chapter also outlines the other towns established at the same time as London Town and describes their fate. Also delineated in chapter 3 is the London Town's role in the transportation system (of ferry crossings and roads) of Anne Arundel County and the colony of Maryland and how it contributed to the growth of London Town during the colonial period.

The main focus of chapter 4 is the development of London Town through a detailed study of land transactions. This data is the basis for a timeline of the town's establishment, growth, and decline which culminates with the consolidation of numerous town lots into small farms. Furthermore, data from land, parish, and census records were used to document the residents of the town and their economic and social functions in the settlement. Chapter 5 addresses the mercantile activities in the town and their connection with merchants in Britain and Europe. The objective of this chapter is to document the individuals involved in the trade on both sides of the Atlantic for comparison in future studies as well as to show the nature of trade in this tobacco town. A significant finding from this part of the study was the truly international nature of trade in Annapolis and London Town, shown by documenting the type of goods brought to the region from all over the world. Chapter 6 outlines the forces that effected trade in the colonies by detailing how world events (war and disputes with trading partners) affected London Town's involvement in international trade. It highlights the inherent differences in

the business of trade in the American colonies and Britain. The chapter then describes the patterns of trade and growth in London Town, focusing on the goods and materials (including slaves and convict labour) exported from and imported to Anne Arundel County, Maryland. The colony produced and exported more than tobacco and this data provides examples of the growth of intercolonial trade in America during the last half of the eighteenth century. Chapter 7 addresses maritime activities in Anne Arundel County and London Town such as shipbuilding, rope making, and other related industries that contributed to economic growth and diversification in Maryland. Findings show that Anne Arundel County was home to many maritime industries involving London Town residents and their neighbors. Furthermore, data indicates that Maryland built vessels that were very important to the tobacco trade. Moreover, the establishment of shipbuilding in Anne Arundel County contributed to the colonies' cause during the American Revolution by enabling war ships to be built and materials to be supplied to Maryland's state navy and militia.

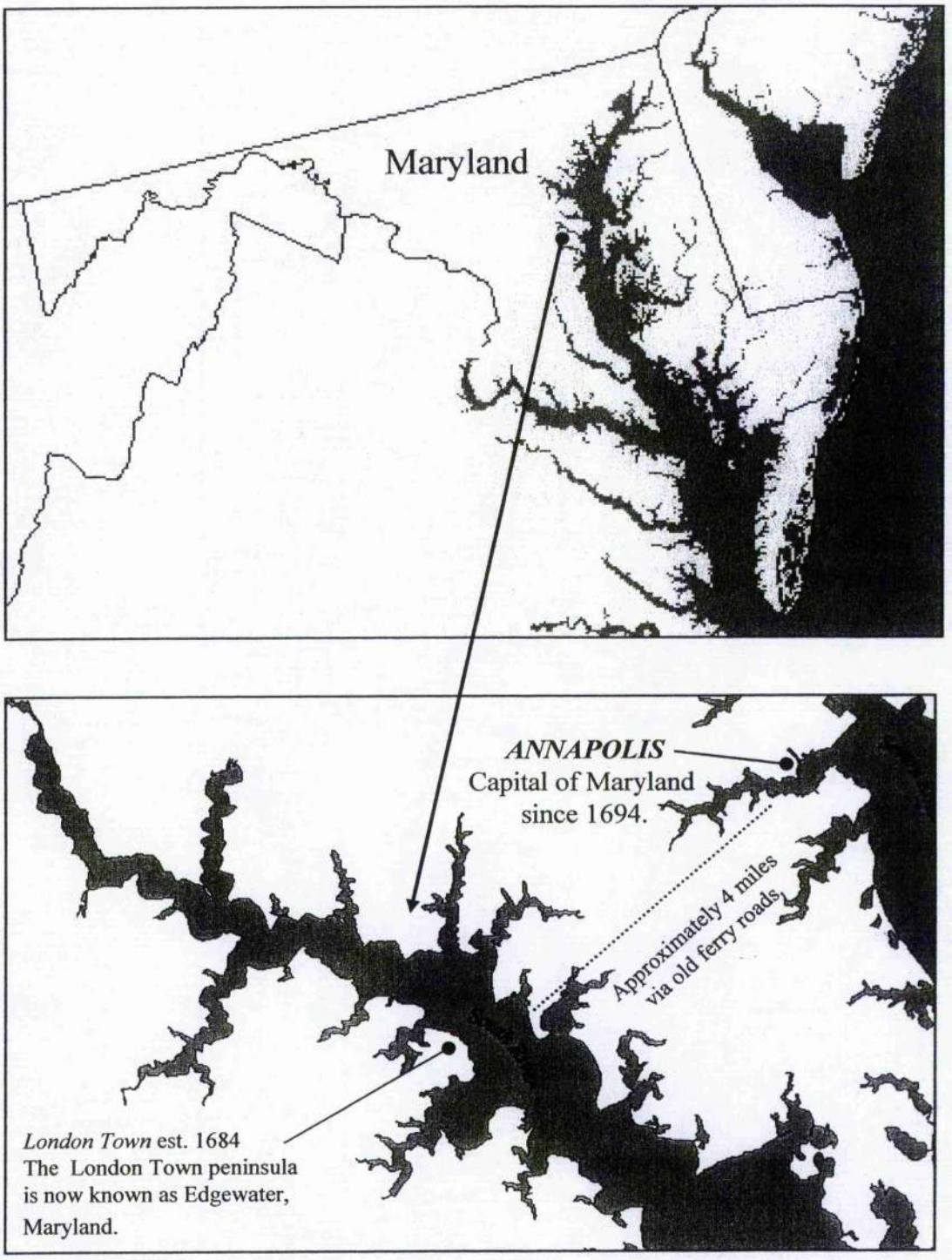
Chapter 8 addresses the circumstances of the American Revolution and its detrimental effect on the tobacco trade in Maryland and the economic and social reactions of the residents of Anne Arundel County and London Town. Chapter 9 outlines the archaeological excavations at London Town and the four periods of occupation represented by the aforementioned land records. This section shows the significance of artifacts discovered at London Town by comparison to other historical and archeological sites resulting in an understanding of London Town's economic and social development and the nature of the settlement. Chapter 10 outlines the importance and significance of this thesis and the author's own conclusions in regards to London Town.

LONDON TOWN, MARYLAND: PREFACE

London Town is now part of a county park located in the State of Maryland, in Anne Arundel County, in the residential subdivision of Edgewater (18AN48 is its archaeological site identification). It can be found on the United States Geological Survey (USGS 7.5," 1:24,000) map of the South River Quadrangle. The 23-acre site is on a mushroom shaped peninsula that protrudes northeast into the South River, a tributary of the Chesapeake Bay. London Town is one river south of the Severn River, site of Annapolis, Maryland's capital since 1694. (Figure 1.2)

The study of colonial life in the Maryland Chesapeake has not received the attention it merits. Documentation is scant and scattered. In general, published studies have concentrated on the lifestyles of wealthy planters, landed gentry and governing officials with little work documenting poor and middle populations such as merchants, mariners, and artisans. The term "middle class" is not used purposely as it held very different meanings in American and England during the eighteenth century. These multi-tasking entrepreneurial colonials were different from their British or European merchant counterparts in that they were not of the same social class. Maryland's planter-merchant-mariners were of their own distinct class that was particular to the colonies and the Chesapeake. The development of these particular tobacco-towns and the contributions of the people who lived in these towns to the colonial economy virtually have been ignored while the grand brick houses once inhabited by the famed founding fathers have been researched and documented in great detail. This study contains data (historic, economic, and archaeological) that can be used for comparison in future studies to establish a base-line for development and activities in the extinct colonial towns of

Figure 1.2
London Town and Annapolis, Maryland



Adapted and created by the author from Rand McNally, *Tripmaker 2000 CD* (Illinois:Rand McNally, 2000) and based on maps generated by the *County View* database from the Department of Planning and Zoning, GIS Division, Anne Arundel County Government.

Virginia and Maryland that served an important role during the colonial period but then disappeared.

The histories of the towns that developed and thrived into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries generally are well documented. Williamsburg, Charleston, Savannah, Boston, and Philadelphia all provide excellent examples of urban and plantation populations during the colonial period. However, some towns, which thrived during the colonial era, declined or completely disappeared after independence from Britain. They exist only as archaeological sites and as forgotten symbols on antiquarian maps. Essentially, these towns have been "lost" and the men and women who inhabited such towns have not been studied. Serious study of such people and these defunct towns not only strengthens scholarly literature, it also clarifies the extent to which economic development accompanied economic growth in area such as the colonial Chesapeake.[3] London Town is one of these "lost" towns. As part of the mercantile economy, this port town and others like it were building blocks of development and growth during the colonial era in Maryland.

London Town was involved in both the import and export of goods in the colonial transatlantic mercantile trade. Tobacco was brought to the town's warehouses and stored until ships arrived with goods from London, England (and other places in England such as Liverpool or Bristol, as well as Cork in Ireland, and the Caribbean Islands). These ships brought goods to exchange for Maryland's colonial currency, tobacco. This ubiquitous commodity was harvested using the labor of slaves (as well as convicts and indentured servants) who scarcely

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[3] Charles G. Steffen, "The Rise of the Independent Merchant in the Chesapeake: Baltimore County, 1660-1769," *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 1 (1989): 11.

benefited from their drudgery.[4] While the tobacco trade expanded, London Town developed (during the period from 1710 to 1750).[5] It developed, flourished, and disappeared between 1684 and 1800. London Town benefited from trade, but its growth and development significantly enriched the rest of the county as well.[6] Trade and shipping meant that goods had to be moved into and out of the port town over land and water. This trade stimulated the construction and maintenance of a road and ferry network to ensure the movement of both people and goods. The upkeep of these services meant additional and higher levies were demanded by the colonial government, thus more land had to be cultivated to produce more tobacco to pay for them. Trade was the stimulus for growth and development in Anne Arundel County and for the colony of Maryland.

This development introduced the means for purchasing consumer goods and spurred the population westward to previously undeveloped areas. Goods came to London Town and were distributed to the plantations that surrounded it and into adjacent counties such as Prince George's (established 1695), Fredrick (1748), and Montgomery (1776).

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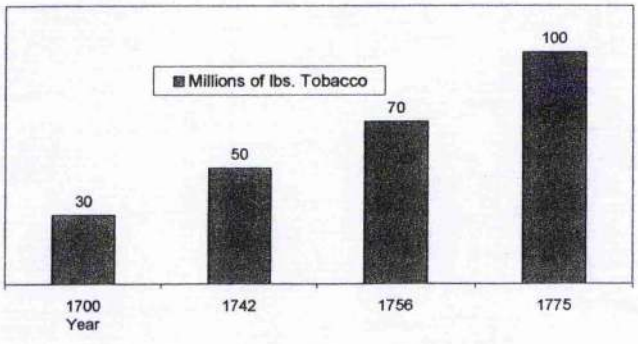
[4] Tobacco in Maryland and Virginia was referred to colloquially as the "Chesapeake Gold." Throughout the 17th and for most of the 18th century, tobacco actually was the currency of the Chesapeake region as specie was rare.

[5] See Jacob M. Price, "The Economic Growth of the Chesapeake and the European Market, 1687-1775" *Journal of Economic History*, 24(1964): 497. Chart based on Price's data.



By the 1730s, Maryland began to diversify its exports, with limited success, as the tobacco market declined through overproduction and poor packing practices, such as loading hogsheads with trashy tobacco (stems and stocks).[7] The Maryland Assembly passed "An Act for Amending the Staple of Tobacco" in the hope of stabilizing the market in the late 1740s, it was not particularly successful.[8] Tobacco was still the main cash crop throughout the colonial period, however, by the 1750s, other farm products began to evolve into exportable commodities.

Natural resources such as wood, and foodstuffs such as peas, beans, Indian corn, and wheat were exported not only to the Caribbean islands to feed the slave labourers in the sugar cane fields, but also to New England and other American Colonies as each colony began to introduce its local produce to a wider market. Maryland imported salt from Britain and its island holdings via the Caribbean, and then exported barrels of items such as preserved hams and salted pork. Some exported foodstuffs went on the return voyages to England to feed sailors on ships. In addition, materials not generally associated with Maryland, such as flaxseed, grain, and timber, were exported to England for processing and production into finished wares. Flax was grown in Maryland and then its seed was exported to Ireland, probably to return to Maryland in the form of fabric and ready-made clothing and white goods. Some exported goods, such as wheat flour, were processed in Maryland. The milling industry began to flourish during the 1750s in Baltimore, just north of Annapolis. Furthermore, wood products such as logs and cut boards were exported. Thousands of "staves and heading" were exported after

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[6] Anne Arundel County was founded in 1649.

[7] Hogshead: a large wooden cask or barrel used to transport dry goods such as tobacco.

[8] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland 1748-1751*, ed. J. Hall Pleasants (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1929), 46:453-455.

having been manufactured in Anne Arundel County. These "flat barrels" were exported to the Caribbean sugar islands and the fisheries of the north (Newfoundland and Nova Scotia) to hold the harvests of Britain's other colonies.

Rich in natural resources, such as wood, colonial Maryland was also home to shipbuilding and repair, and the industry grew and flourished until the modern era. Its waterways were dotted with official and unofficial lading areas that could service vessels of varying size with repairs, provisions, and chandlery. Most prominent during the mid-eighteenth century, Anne Arundel County and the Port of Annapolis serviced hundreds of ships each year, many of which had been built in the colony.

Maryland was the destination not only for goods, but also for people. The colony took in individuals involved in varying stages of servitude to supply labor to the tobacco fields. Indentured servants, who paid with a contract for their physical labor or service for seven years or more to come to the New World, were shipped mostly from Bristol, England. Others were brought by force, such as slaves from Africa and convicts from Britain who were transported to the colony by the hundreds every year.

Because London Town seems to have been more a place of business than of residence for many of those who owned property in or near the port, the economic pressures (brought on by repeated wars and their interruptions of maritime trade) were intensified in this small trading center and, thus, greatly affected the viability of the town. Established by legislative act, sustained by trade when under Royal control, then reduced by the effects of war and the forces of regional independent economic development, London Town and other towns like it played significant roles in the development of the colonies which became the United States of

America.

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

Maryland was a proprietary colony in that it was granted to the Calvert family by the King of England, James I. Therefore, its structure was somewhat different from that of a Royal Colony such as Virginia. The Calverts organized a representative government for Maryland. Members of the Upper and Lower Houses of the Assembly of Maryland proposed, wrote, and passed legislation for the landed class in the colony. Administratively the colony was broken down into counties, (largely based on geographic boundaries), hundreds, and parishes.[9] However, these offices did not have the same power or organization as hundreds in England. County officials such as the sheriff and commissioners oversaw small towns located in each county and answered to the courts and legislators. Each county government was responsible for the records generated by the county court. Many documents exist only in court records, not in records for particular geographic areas such as towns or ports. The county administrative system was the local government.

There are few written contemporary records for London Town because it was a town without an administrator, church, and public institutions and, thus, did not produce records of its own. It was a merchant and trading settlement that was governed from the county level. Land conveyance and probate records were registered with the provincial and county courts in Annapolis, the county seat and

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[9] Hundred: a subdivision of a county, used in the Chesapeake region and based on the British model. However, in England and Ireland the *hundred* had its own court. This was not the case in the Chesapeake. Parish: subdivision of a county, applied to ecclesiastical jurisdictions, an area recognized for purposes of civil administration. (OED)

capital of Maryland, as well as home to the legislative government (from 1694 to the present day). London Town was part of All Hallows Parish and it was the only town in that parish. The church records do record the birth, marriage, and death of some of the town's residents. However, none of the registers directly pertain to the town. The parish church, All Hallows "Brick Church," (built c1730) is four miles south of London Town on the main north-south road in the county.

Most of the data directly pertaining to London Town's property and its residents comes from county land records. Deeds and other records concerning property, mention documents such as the "Record Book of London Town" or the "plat book." These missing registers might have provided a map of London Town or perhaps a complete chain of title and subdivision for property in the port town, yet they are lost to us.

Legislation relating to the town's formation and establishment can be found in the *Archives of Maryland*. This printed primary source, a set of over 400 volumes, contains the ruminations and actions of the Maryland Assembly during the colonial period and provides access to historical documents concerning the legal, legislative, judicial, and administrative history of Maryland's government. Contained in this collection are references to specific individuals and their activities in London Town. Therefore, much of the study of London Town has been pieced together with information about its residents from various sources including the *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly* (Maryland), the *Proceedings and Acts of the Council of Maryland*, and the *Proceedings of the Provincial Court* and Judicial Records (organized by county). For example, if a resident applied for a ferry, tavern, or ordinary license, it appears in the County Court Proceedings. When a vessel sought to transport tobacco to Britain was

waiting in the South River, the ship's captain was required to record the particulars of his ship and his tonnage rate with the county court.[10] These registers appear in the Land Records for Anne Arundel County. When family members contested probate proceedings, it also was included in court accounts. Similarly, if a political discussion resulted in violence, an account of the situation and any fines or punishments were recorded with the court. These records help explain what happened financially, politically and socially in London Town. The fact that London Town did not generate documents of its own attests to its particular status as a settlement which did not govern itself. It differed from Annapolis, which had a Mayor's Court, and other municipal bodies.

Information concerning London Town and trade has been obtained not only from sources, such as the aforementioned court collections, but also from newspapers (the *Maryland Gazette* as well as many London, England, publications), Port of Annapolis-Naval Officer Records, county census records, parish records and many secondary sources and databases designed by the author to organize and analyze primary data.[11] Much of what is presented herein consists of condensed displays, depicted in charts and graphs, representing thousands of records (i.e., land records, ports records, probate records, newspaper information) to demonstrate patterns of trade, land ownership, the life cycle of London Town and the development of Anne Arundel County.

Newspapers provided information about merchants, such as the names of

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[10] "Master's of ships, before they take on any tobacco on freight, shall publish under their hands by a note fixed on the County Court-house door, at what rate they will receive tobacco upon fright per ton; which note shall be recorded by the County Clerk." Archives of Maryland: 75:668.

[11] Two such databases used in this study for information and numbers on slaves comes from David Eltis, et al. *The Trans Atlantic Slaves Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and The Lost Towns Database, is managed and maintained for Anne Arundel County's Office of Environmental and Cultural Programs by the author.

the vessels they were employing and the type of goods they imported. The periodicals also recorded the comings and goings of vessels and sometimes their cargoes. The *Maryland Gazette* was an indispensable resource in that it helped place people in London Town through advertisements for property sales or death announcements.

The Port of Annapolis Records were obtained from two sources, The Maryland State Archives in Annapolis and The Public Record Office, London, England. These records contain the movement of vessels and cargo entering and clearing at the Port of Annapolis. Both sets are incomplete. Nonetheless, they provide a detailed account of colonial trade patterns. For example, the records contain a list of all ships and vessels that entered inward or cleared outward in the Port of Annapolis. Each ledger entry noted the particular quantity and quality of the lading of each vessel as well as the date of its entry or departure. The information was organized in fields that recorded the same information for each vessel, including the date of entry, name of the vessel and its master, the ship's type of build, its tonnage, number of guns and men. Also noted were where and when the ship was built, where and when it was registered, and names of the owners for each particular voyage. In addition, this register recorded the general cargo, the package, and the content of the goods on board the ship. It also listed the location and date of a bond or insurance for the vessel.[12]

When available, these port records are very useful to show sizes and types of ships coming to Anne Arundel County and London Town on the South River. The registers are very detailed, but survive for only short periods, such as the 25

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[12] MSA collection M1002-A; Lady Day Quarter, 1761.

administrative quarters from 1754 to 1761. Although these records cover a late phase in the life of London Town, they help provide a snapshot in time of trade in Anne Arundel County.

Data on voyages to the South River were documented in Anne Arundel County land records in the form of "freight rates." Ship captains were required to register their shipping rates (or freight rate) for the transport of tobacco per ton, to a given port, usually London, England. This was a legal formality but it served as an advertisement. For the historian, it indicates patterns of trade in tobacco and other commodities. The data collected on the comings and goings of goods, their origin and destination, as well as information on ships and their tonnage, are presented in graphs and charts. Much of the information gathered during the tedious time-consuming search and analysis conducted for Chapter 6 is consolidated and shown through graphic representation.

Printed primary sources and secondary materials played significant roles in this study. Eighteenth-century merchant directories and newspapers were found at the British Library and the Newspaper Library (part of the British Library but housed in a different location) in London, England. Information on Scots living in London Town was found at the National Library of Scotland and the Scottish Record Office (National Archives of Scotland) in Edinburgh. The Guildhall Library, the London City Archives and the London Metropolitan Archives in London, England, as well as the Edinburgh City Archives in Scotland, were scoured to no avail for primary merchant records such as bills of lading for Maryland-related vessels, guild memberships, personal journals and probate records for British merchants operating in (or through) London Town, Maryland. Many sources, such as bills of lading, ship's manifests, etc., were anticipated but

never located. They simply did not survive.

Four collections of eighteenth-century maps were studied with the hope of finding a map of London Town or nautical charts showing the Chesapeake Bay with details of the South River and Anne Arundel County, Maryland: the National Library of Scotland (Map Division), the British Library, the National Maritime Museum-Greenwich (all in the UK), and the Library of Congress, Washington, DC. However, this search did not uncover any hereto-unknown maps. Similarly, the manuscript collections of the British Library, the Library of Congress, and the Maryland State Archives were studied extensively for private papers generated by merchants trading with London Town and their London, England counterparts. However, no such private papers were discovered.

Lloyd's List of shipping in London is a valuable resource for information on shipping that took place during the last half of the eighteenth century; however, it did not prove useful for this particular study. Although it started in 1734, *Lloyd's List* was not regularly published until 1741.[13] Initially, this copious collection was used to look for Maryland ships, even though it proved to be a formidable and time-consuming task. The list did not provide much information about the ships themselves. It only recorded the comings and goings of vessels leaving from or returning to Maryland. It did not distinguish the homeport of the vessel nor did it provide any details on the tonnage or the cargo. Therefore, this source was used to better understand the process of shipping in London, England and the system of entry to the River Thames but was only useful for context.

Unfortunately, no primary sources that directly concerned contemporary

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[13] The National Maritime Museum Greenwich has the entire collection (from 1741) in a bound facsimile.

London Town were uncovered. Custom records from London and Edinburgh (port of Leith) were often vague when noting the destination of out-bound vessels: simply noting Maryland as the port of call. Since London Town was not part of the customs system, it did not generate detailed maritime records. As mentioned, information regarding the port town was gathered from the Anne Arundel County, Maryland land records and from the Port of Annapolis records, portions of which were located at both the Public Record Office, London and the Maryland State Archives. The "shipping news" found in Maryland's only newspaper, the *Maryland Gazette* was very helpful, though limited, in providing the names of ship's masters and owners. However, very little of this data directly applied to London Town.

From a methodological point of view, this study has been pulled together from varied and far-flung sources. Record sets, when discovered and deemed useful to the study of London Town, were transcribed systematically into a database especially designed for those particular types of records. Therefore, the data used comes from a number of different databases created by the author. For example, land records for London Town were located, transcribed, analyzed for pertinent information (such as cadastral reference), and entered into a relational database. The land records were the foundation for all other study sources. The information provided in the land records (names, individual occupations, dates, property uses, etc.) was used to compile a list of names to study for more information on London Town and its residents. Land records led to probate records. Probate records also were transcribed and analyzed to provide the origin, occupation, age, familial relations, and possessions of some of the town's residents.

This body of data on the people and property of London Town provided information that helped to answer many questions (Where in the town did residents live? What did they do? What was their daily life like? What was the town like?) regarding the history of the town. The character of the town and its trading activities came to light through searching newspapers for merchant advertisements (both from London and Maryland), studying probate records for personal property and dissecting land records to better understand patterns of property ownership and use. Consequently, the sources and the paths they created, directed the methodology of this thesis.

PREVIOUS HISTORICAL STUDY

Since archaeological excavations began in 1995, interest in London Town, its history and the reasons behind its decline and disappearance, has been renewed. The formation of the *Lost Towns Project* by Dr. Al Luckenbach created a mandate to collect all the available information on London Town, dramatically augmenting the body of data and revising the antiquated historical notions regarding the town.[14] This section will provide an overview of previous historic research on London Town.

Gladys Nelker was the first park director of London Town and was a member of the Londontown Publick House Commission.[15] In 1967, she began to assemble an impressive historical research project on London Town. Although neither complete nor published, this work was the first comprehensive study of documents pertaining to colonial London Town. Entitled *This Is London Town*, it helped lay the groundwork for further study, providing an organized collection of some of the land, probate, and personal records related to the town.[16] The majority of the work consists of hundreds of citations referring to London Town documents with Nelker's abstracts of many land and probate records. This work may best be described as a summary and index to records pertaining to London Town.

Nelker studied William Burges (the owner of the property that became London Town and an Anne Arundel County land commissioner) and his role in the

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[14] The author has spend the last six years are the primary researcher for London Town while employed by Anne Arundel County's *Lost Towns Project.*

[15] The London Town Publick House Commission was the first oversight body for the county-owned property. Now the property is managed by a not-for-profit organization, The London Town Foundation. Before 1996, London Town was spelled various ways such as Londontowne and Londontown. "London Town" was accepted in 1996, based on land records.

[16] Gladys Nelker, *This Is London Town.* Unpublished manuscript, 1967. A copy is located at the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis.

development of the town. She suggested that London Town was a community before the town act of 1683 even though land records and legislative documents show otherwise.[17] Moreover, she asserted, "The exact date of the founding of London Town has not been ascertained" although the *Acts and Proceedings of the Maryland Assembly* clearly record the town's official creation in 1684. She documented some of the residents of London Town, and made the connection between London Town's only surviving intact structure and William Brown, not calling the building a "Town Hall" as others had mistakenly called it, but an inn.[18] Nelker also made the connection between William Brown and James Dick, noting that Brown mortgaged his house to Dick. She remarked briefly on the Almshouse period and the County's role in the preservation of the William Brown House. Part of her legacy to Anne Arundel County was the designation of the William Brown House as a National Historic Landmark in 1975. Nelker's most impressive contribution, however, was her reconstructed plat map of the town. From her study of the land records, she was able to establish street names, lots sizes, and their approximate locations. Her work, the basis for much of the subsequent study of London Town, provided a starting point for a more detailed history.

A long held belief as to what caused the demise of London Town, suggested by Nelker and others hereafter mentioned, involves the 1747 "Tobacco Inspection Act."[19] It blamed that demise on the removal, of a government required tobacco inspection station from London Town in 1747. However, a review of the

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[17] William Burges was a County Land Commissioner and member of the Maryland Assembly (from 1660 until his death in 1689). He was the grantor for the town's 100 acres. This parcel was cut from his tract of 1200 acres, "Scorton and Burge," patented in 1659.

[18] In 1924, Henry Berkley called the William Brown House a "Town Hall" or a public structure. This misinterpretation prevailed for many years. See, Henry J., "Extinct River Towns of the Chesapeake Region." *Maryland Historical Magazine* (19, no. 2 1924):125-141.

colonial legislation reveals that there were no inspection regulations in Maryland before 1747. Others also suggested the reason behind London Town's disappearence was that it was not chosen as a tobacco inspection site in 1747. Both assumptions, as will be hereafter shown were patently wrong. London Town was just like other villages surrounded by tobacco farms; it had tobacco warehouses, perhaps as many as six at one time, but they were private, not public, or official.

It was not until May of 1747 that Maryland's Governor Samuel Ogle addressed the members of the legislature, outlining the pressing issues regarding the tobacco trade. After the usual processes of the introduction of bills and the rebuffs by objectors, an agreement was reached that something had to be done to prop up the tobacco trade in Maryland. The Maryland legislators decided that they would draft their inspection regulations based on the Virginia law since it had "Stood a Trial of Many Years... to the General Satisfaction of all Parties."[20] The result, "An Act for amending the Staple of Tobacco, for preventing Frauds in his Majesty's Customs, and for the Limitation of Officers Fees" was passed in 1747.[21] Governor Ogle's axiom of "I will make it my constant Rule never to Propose Anything to you as Governor that I shall not think for the Good of the County as a Planter"[22] was convincing enough to help pass the law. Thus, Maryland established a regulated tobacco market, but the research presented herein will show that this did not cause the demise of London Town. Many factors over many years rendered the town extinct.

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[19] See Archives of Maryland, 44: 608-609 for the 1747 Tobacco Inspection legislation.

[20] Archives of Maryland, 45: 454.

[21] Full title of the 1747 "Tobacco Inspection Law."

In 1975, Carville Earle examined the Anne Arundel County parish of All Hallows in a comprehensive book, *The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System*. Though his subject was the entire parish (its growth and the social and economic factors effecting the area), he repeatedly referred to London Town and its inhabitants. Earle portrayed London Town as the urban center and main settlement of the parish due to its concentration of merchants and what he called "occupational specialists." Earle calculated that the population of London Town consisted of between 30% and 40% of the skilled labour or non-planters for the whole parish.[23] He outlined the development of the town and described many of the inhabitants of London Town and their roles in the town's development. He commented on the role of the 1747 tobacco inspection act and stated that the act was undoubtedly a factor in the demise of the town. Initially he stated, "London Town lost its reason for being, the tobacco trade, and collapse was imminent." due to the 1747 act.[24] This statement has endured as the reason for the demise of the London Town. He concluded that, "While it would be patently unfair to place exclusive blame on the inspection act of 1747 for Maryland's economic miseries, the act did seriously undermine urbanization."[25] Furthermore, he suggested that the act cut the tobacco production of the parish in half.[26] There is no evidence of such a decline.

Earle also showed how transfers of the economic centers and the improvement of infrastructure (such as roads and bridges) in the colony affected

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[22] Archives of Maryland, 45: 454.

[23] Carville V. Earle, *The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallows Parish, Maryland 1650-1783* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1975), 91.

[24] Earle, *Tidewater Settlement System*, 98.

[25] Earle, *Tidewater Settlement System*, 99.

areas growth to the north and west of the parish, particularly those of Fredrick Town and Baltimore. According to Earle, this shift began as early as 1734.[27] During the mid-1740s, many bridges were built over the Patuxent. This improved access to the emerging areas of western Maryland.[28] Earle argued that London Town was also a casualty of this shift in the system of Anne Arundel County roads that on longer featured London Town at its center. Even though Earle advocated the fatalistic tobacco inspection act theory, he does suggest many alternative reasons for the demise of London Town and places that demise in the context of the economic evolution of a wider system. This study will show that many factors, some suggested by Earle, did affect the lifecycle of London Town.

In 1978, Donald Shomette wrote *London Town A Brief History,* published by the London Town Publick House Commission.[29] This work resulted from the land research conducted by Nelker and from a report Shomette authored in 1976 called *A Reconnaissance of Drowned Cultural Resources at Londontown, Maryland.* This work was initiated by the Londontown Public House Commission and carried out by Shomette's company Nautical Archaeological Associates, Inc. The historic research for both works is nearly identical.

Shomette used deeds from Anne Arundel County land records (the research complied by Nelker) in his discussion of the town. In his second chapter, Shomette thoroughly discussed the town acts that survive in the annals of the *Acts and Proceeding of the Maryland Assembly.* His treatment of the town acts is

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[26] Earle, *Tidewater Settlement System*, 99.

[27] Earle, *Tidewater Settlement System*, 99.

[28] Earle, *Tidewater Settlement System*, 99.

[29] Donald Shomette, *London Town A Brief History* (Maryland: London Town Publick House Commission, Inc. 1978).

erudite and consistent. In chapters three and four Shomette used land records to discuss the development of the town and its population. He focused on merchant James Dick and spent many chapters on the physical layout and commercial activities of the town.

Shomette also addressed the decline of the town. He attributed London Town demise to being overlooked (as a location) in 1747 for one of the newly created tobacco, inspection stations and stated:

> The incredible selection of Howard's Point in lieu of London Town as the site of the tobacco inspection station was the end for the town. The net effect of the act had been a shift the focal point of tobacco marketing away from London Town, causing the town to loose its reason for being.[30]

However, this alternate location of the South River inspection station (Howard's Point) was not established or implemented for many years.[31] Furthermore, even thought the 1747 act outlined seven sites in Anne Arundel County, only one tobacco inspection station is shown on the 1794 *Map of Maryland* by Dennis Griffith.[32] The 1747 inspection was not the cause of London Town's demise: history suggests that it was not a factor in the tobacco trade in Maryland until many decades after 1747.

Shomette struggled with his discussion of the demise of London Town. His argument suggested that economic activity in the town after 1747 was merely a futile attempt to save a dying town. He finished his piece with the town's dissolution into the London Town Farm and the Almshouse Property. Although

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[30] Donald Shomette, *London Town*, 59. Here Shomette cited Earle's *Tidewater Settlement.*

[31] In 1748, residents of Anne Arundel County requested the site be moved, but then it seems the location was abandoned. There are no records that suggest that tobacco inspection was organized or widespread immediately after the passage of the 1747 act.

Shomette was thorough, he failed to recognize that some 40 years (or two to three generations) passed before the period of lot (London Town property) consolidation. More importantly, he did not provide the economic, social, and political context that better explains the town's demise. He also contributed to the theory (first suggested by Earle) that the tobacco inspection law of 1747 was the principle reason for London Town's demise.

In addition to the works of Nelker, Earle, and Shomette, colonial London Town is mentioned in larger works pertaining to Chesapeake history. One of those was the genealogical work by J. D. Warfield in 1905. He mentioned London Town and made the amazing and undoubtedly undocumented statement that London Town "was intended to rival its name sake" [London, England].[33] Further, he suggested that the death of William Burges, the founder of London Town, (in 1687) was the cause of demise of London Town. Conversely, data shows that the town did not grow until after Burges's death.

John Reps briefly mentioned London Town in his *Tidewater Towns, City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland.*[34] He felt that London Town's demise was due to an increase in competition from Baltimore and Annapolis and stated that the competition was "too severe and the town gradually decayed."[35] Elements of his theory proved to be correct, as data collected for this thesis will show.

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[32] Edward C. Papenfuse, and Joseph M. Coale III, *Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608-1908* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.), 52. This one inspection station is the South River site; however, it was nearly 50 years after the act was first introduced.

[33] Joshua D. Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1905), 197.

[34] John Reps, *Tidewater Towns* (Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1972), 103-104.

[35] Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 104.

In a 1998 Plenum Press publication entitled *Maritime Archaeology,* a chapter written by Reynold J. Ruppe concerning changes in sea level and archaeology on colonial sites in America, discussed the harbor at London Town.[36] Ruppe contends, "The site was founded in 1650, and by the 1740s was second only to Annapolis as a maritime commercial center; but by the end of the revolution was all but abandoned. The major building activity had apparently been complete by 1690...."[37] This thesis will show how misguided Ruppe was.

Allan Kulikoff briefly referred to London Town in his work *Tobacco and Slaves.* Kulikoff looked at the government's attempts at tobacco regulation and legislated town development and cited London Town as one of the tobacco port towns that developed and benefited from such legislation. He estimated that London Town had between 50-100 residents consisting of merchants, innkeepers, and artisans during its prime. He also outlined the pressures of a tobacco-centric economy and the cycles and trends that influenced the growth and development in areas like London Town.[38] Kulikoff's theories proved very insightful for this work and provided sound reasons for the town's, and others like it, demise.

The previous work on London Town provided paths to follow and ideas to challenge. The data presented herein is the most complete work on London Town or any "lost" tobacco town from the colonial period.

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[36] D. G. Shomette, *Londontown: The Reconnaissance of a seventeenth-eighteenth Century Tidewater Riverport Complex* (Austin: Antiquities Committee Publication, 1978).

[37] Lawrence E. Babits and Hans Van Tilburg, eds. *Maritime Archaeology* (New York: Plenum Press, 1998), 250.

[38] Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves, The Development of Southern Culture in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 105-106.

Chapter 2: The Settling of Colonial Virginia and Maryland

THE CHESAPEAKE REGION OF THE BRITISH COLONIES

Essential to understanding the nature of London Town (and similar settlements) and its role in the Chesapeake economy is understanding the circumstances from which it emerged. The development of the Chesapeake region was largely dependent on the tobacco trade and from the first days of settlement in Maryland, tobacco was the main economic motivator in colonization.

Europeans first crossed the Atlantic to explore and fish, then to trade and colonize. Seafaring became the main dynamic in the New World. Ships came with fishermen and explorers, followed by the faithful as well as the avaricious. Many quickly realized that land ownership could be converted into money through rents or exploitation of the natural resources. The Americas were populated by a pattern of seafaring, conquering and planting.[39] The planting not only involved cash crops such as tobacco in the Chesapeake and rice in the Low Country of the Carolinas, but also the transplanting of people.

The introduction of labour-intensive crops required a substantial labour force. The indigenous people of the Americas fled the areas of European settlement or died due to contact with these outsiders, who introduced new diseases that ravaged the native population. The new colonists therefore had to look back across the Atlantic for labour. The first sources of workers were men and women who sold themselves into service for a period of four to seven years as payment for the cost of their transatlantic transportation. These indentured servants gave up their personal rights, for the prescribed period, in order to live in the New World.

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[39] D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 1-7.

New immigrants made up the majority of indentured servants in the North American the colonies, "since very few native-born persons were either voluntarily or involuntarily bond out."[40] Native sons and daughters of English colonists were placed in apprenticeships rather than sold into indentured servitude.

Forced labour was introduced to the colony in the late seventeenth century. Many came from the penal system of Britain. Convicts were sold into indenture, much like temporary slavery, but with fewer rights and more restrictions than self-indentured servants. Britain and Europe were not the only sources of labour. The establishment of trade with sections of northwestern Africa (through trade with Spain) found another unwilling labour force in Negro slaves. The desire for profit encouraged expansion of existing areas of crop production which, in turn, fueled the need for more labour, which escalated the demand for slaves.[41] This need for an ever-expanding labour force fueled the slave trade that fueled the economic and population growth of the colonies. Each part of the mercantile machine required the other. The industry and trade that developed contributed to Britain's empire and economic growth in other parts of Europe.

THE ENTERPRISE OF VIRGINIA

Exploration and transatlantic presence was seen as a way to secure power, both economic and political. Money provided by the church and the royalty of Europe financed many excursions to North America, but such backing did not

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[40] Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 66-67. Also see James Horn, "Servant Emigration to the Chesapeake in the seventeenth-century," Thad W. Tate, David L. Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth-century: Essays on Anglo-American Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), and David Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

ensure success. Willing and unwilling voyagers, if they survived the journey, faced many obstacles once on dry land. Those travelling to North America faced the pernicious hostilities of a foreign climate and native inhabitants. This tenuous situation was exacerbated by the lack of proper food, potable water, and other necessities. The process of colonization was dangerous and expensive, not only monetarily but also in human life (both European and native). However, the adventurous and covetous saw the colonies in North America as both potential depositories for unwanted groups of society (such as convicts and the poor) and a source of wealth to be exploited. The history of the establishment of colonial Virginia is a testament to such economic capitalization.

The late 16th-century catastrophic failure of Roanoke, Virginia, the first attempt at permanent settlement, did not thwart the drive for colonization in North America.[42] The desire for control over the New World was almost as alluring as the wealth it could provide. After 20 years of trial, error, and research, the England-based Virginia Company was created from two existing commercial ventures: the London Company and the Plymouth Company. On April 10, 1606, the Virginia Company received its charter from James I. Now it was poised to take on the task of exploiting the Americas. This charter provided the company with legal liberty and economic potential as it granted the rights to all lands and waters located in North America between the latitudes of 34 and 41 degrees north.[43]

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[41] Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York: WW Norton & Co., 1975), 306-307.

[42] Sir Walter Raleigh headed the establishment of Roanoke, Virginia (present day North Carolina) in 1585. The first settlers had to be rescued because of lack of provisions. Raleigh returned to the island in 1587 with more colonists in the hope of forming a permanent settlement in North America. A relief expedition ventured to the island in 1590 but there was no trace of the colony. It is believed that local Native populations decimated the second wave of colonists.

[43] Richard Middleton, *Colonial America* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992), 14-15. This covers the geographic area that is presently contained in the states of Maryland and Virginia.

Furthermore, all who lived on lands owned by the Virginia Company were to have the same rights as all English subjects. With this sanction, the colonial settlement of Jamestown was established in 1607. It was located nearly 200 miles up the Chesapeake from the deserted and abandoned settlement of Roanoke. (Figure 2.1)

Unpreparedness, coupled with the inhospitable nature of Jamestown's swampy climate, made for a difficult start. Only 35 of 105 original colonists survived the first winter.[44] In 1609, the Crown happily bowed out of the venture. The company became publicly held and underwent restructuring with the addition of a new advisory council elected by stockholders.[45] However, the colony itself was floundering. Powhatan, the native chief in the region, grew tired of the colonists' dependence on his people and food stocks. Once peaceful, native Iroquoians began to pillage already languishing colonists. However, the new charter of 1609 brought new leaders and a much-needed constabulary.

In 1610, Jamestown was under the rule of Lord De La Warr who quickly established order and put the colonists to work.[46] The year 1611 saw the arrival of ships with provisions and the military-minded Deputy Governor Sir Thomas Dale, who forced a tenuous peace agreement with Powhatan.[47] From 1611 to 1616, Jamestown was under martial law. Dale set stringent religious and social guidelines to assure order in the colony. Much of the survival and growth of Jamestown can be attributed to its strong governors and the support of the Virginia

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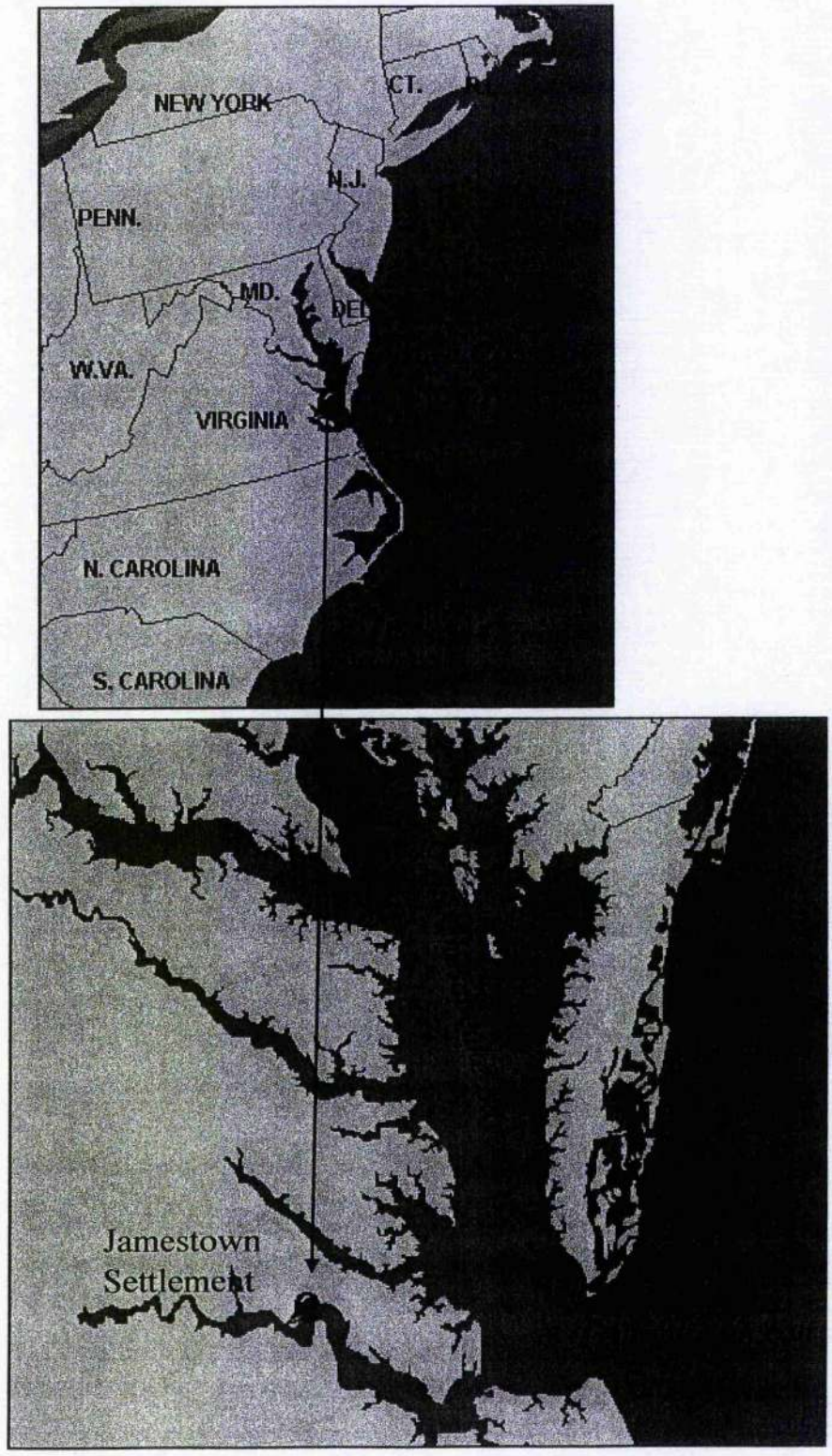
[44] Middleton, *Colonial America*, 23-24.

[45] Middleton, *Colonial America*, 27.

[46] Thomas West, 12th Baron De La Warr was born in 1577. He served in the English military and was knighted for bravery in 1599. He was a member of the Virginia Company and was appointed governor of Virginia in 1609 and served until his death in 1618.

[47] Middleton, *Colonial America*, 28-29.

Figure 2.1
Jamestown Settlement 1607



Adapted by the author from Rand McNally,
Tripmaker 2000 CD (Illinois:Rand McNally, 2000).

Company. However, the welfare of the colony may have rested mainly in the hands of one man, John Rolfe, who introduced the cultivation of a West Indian variety of tobacco, *Nicotinana tabaccum*, or sweet tobacco. In 1614, he sent to England what would become the cornerstone of colonial Chesapeake maritime trade and culture: a hogshead of tobacco. He also contributed to peace with Powhatan when he married the native leader's daughter, Pocahontas.[48]

After tobacco cultivation became established in Virginia, the colony began to grow, albeit slowly. It faced many setbacks: "During its seventeen years in America the Virginia Company sent over about 6,000 persons, but at the end of its tenure, in 1624, the European population was only about 1,200."[49] Many had died of either malarial fever, illness caused by poor sanitation, or at the hands of the native inhabitants. Many others had returned home. For those who remained, securing land for tobacco production became their chief preoccupation. Initial attempts at settlement, to secure safety in numbers by clustering homes together, gave way to the clearing of land for tobacco, and led to the dispersal of the colonists and further encroachment upon native lands. The gross neglect of intercultural relations led to a devastating event that ended the incumbency of the Virginia Company. In March of 1622, 350 colonists were killed in a coordinated Indian uprising.[50] This attack, compounded by looming bankruptcy, caused the company to collapse in 1624.

The Virginia Company failed to make a profit and was taken over by the Crown in 1625. Virginia became a Royal Colony and was assigned a governor.

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[48] Middleton, *Colonial America*, 29.

[49] Meinig, *Shaping America*, 149.

[50] Middleton, *Colonial America*, 36.

The Anglican religion was the colony's established church. As the colony grew with the increase in tobacco production many came to Virginia looking for wealth and land. Now with a cash crop, a mercantile system developed in Virginia. The export of tobacco paid for the importation of a wide range of goods. At various times in the seventeenth century, Virginia was beset with food shortages, as the planting of tobacco supplanted the production of sustainable levels of food. Bad weather and skirmishes with natives also affected the food supply.[51] Labor shortages during this initial period of expansion led to the introduction of Negro slaves. In 1619, the governor of Virginia "bartered ... provisions for twenty odd Negroes."[52] The practice of slavery in America would continue for the next 250 years.[53]

Virginia's growth stimulated the introduction of settlers from all areas of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They brought with them a variety of religious and social beliefs. This eventually led to a division between those who preferred the government's official Anglican church and those Puritans who felt that the Anglican form of Christianity was not pure enough to assure their place in the afterlife. The Puritans migrated north and east seeking a place to practice their more austere religion as well as participate in the tobacco economy and its benefits.

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[51] Morgan, *American Slavery*, 100-106.

[52] Morgan, *American Slavery*, 105. Early Virginia had Free Blacks, but this instance shows that they were traded in exchange for provisions. For Free Blacks in the Chesapeake see T. H. Breen & Stephen Innes, *Myne Owne Ground* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

[53] New York Public Library, *American History Desk Reference* (New York: Macmillan, 1997), 100.

THE SETTLING OF MARYLAND

Maryland and the surrounding states of Delaware and Virginia combine to form what is known as the Tidewater region because of their many rivers and streams that drain into the Chesapeake Bay which is the world's largest tidal estuary system.[54] The state's many waterways have long sustained a way of life that used the bay to move crops and goods as well as people. The bay also sustained a vast economic system and rich culture of watermen. The bay's bounty of seafood (crabs, oysters, and fish) has long been harvested and exported around the world.

Much of Maryland's topography is conducive to farming except the western-most part of the state (in the Piedmont region), which is mountainous. "Anne Arundel County lies wholly within the Coastal Plain region of the state, all soils of the county being derived from unconsolidated sediments belonging to the Mesozoic and Cenozoic portions of the geological column."[55] This area has been historically agricultural, as the soils are rich and well drained. The Coastal Plain has a growing season that averages 200 days and the county typically receives approximately 42 inches (106.68 cm) of rainfall annually. The temperature ranges from 42° to 24° Fahrenheit (6 to -4 Celsius) in January to 88° to 67° Fahrenheit (31 to 19 Celsius) in July. The majority of soil types in the area consist of the Sassafras series, which are the most productive soils of the region.[56] Moreover, "The topography is generally flat, with shallow ravines and slightly rolling hills

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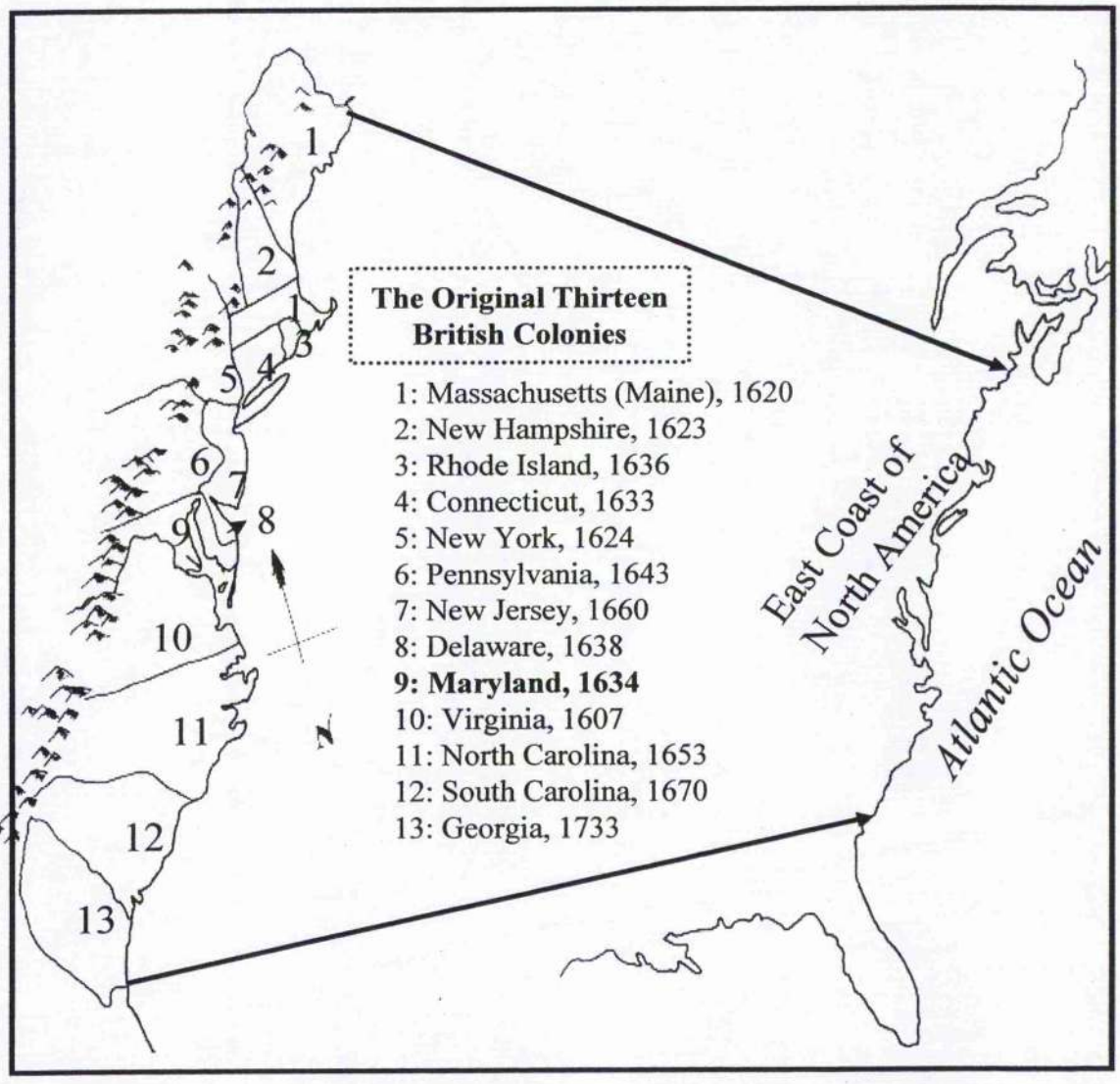
[54] Maryland Geological Survey, *Miocene Text* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), ilxvii.

[55] Maryland Geological Survey, *Anne Arundel County* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1917), 133.

[56] MGS, *Anne Arundel County*, 136.

Figure 2.2
North American Colonies



Map by the author based on maps and illustrations from Howard Egger-Bovet, et al. *American Colonies*. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1996 and Joy Hakim, *Making Thirteen Colonies.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

down to cliff-faced river banks."[57] Forest and woodland cover most of the state. The Western Shore (London Town's location) has both deciduous and coniferous trees. The Eastern Shore, especially in the marsh and waterside areas, consists of primarily scrub-pine forest.

Maryland is located on the East Coast of the United States and was one of the original 13 British Colonies. (Figure 2.2) Technically, the area that became Maryland fell within the area of geographic latitude provided to the Virginia Company by James I; however, degeneration of the Virginia Company left the region open to settlement. Maryland was established neither as a Royal Colony nor as a stock company enterprise. Maryland emanated from the ambitions of one man.[58] George Calvert, father of the colony of Maryland, was associated with the London branch of the Virginia Company as well as being involved in the New England Company.[59] He established a short-lived settlement on Newfoundland, which he named Avalon, but for 20 years, he continued to pursue his own permanent colony.[60]

A Proprietary Colony

George Calvert was well connected with the government of James I and his successor, Charles I. He was educated at Trinity College in Oxford, England and

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[57] Lisa Plumley, *Searching for the Poor of Lost London: The Almshouse Years 1823-1965* (Annapolis, Maryland: Anne Arundel County's Lost Towns Project, 2002), 9.

[58] Meinig, *Shaping America*, 150.

[59] Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (Hatboro, Pa., Tradition Press, 1965), 5.

[60] Meinig, *Shaping America*, 150.

in 1609, at the age of 29, was elected to Parliament.[61] He was knighted for public service in 1617 and appointed Secretary of State in 1619.[62] Nevertheless, in 1625, after years of high-paid and well-respected service, Calvert disqualified himself from public office by announcing his conversion to Catholicism. James I wished him to remain in office, but when Calvert declined, James I bestowed on him the Barony of Baltimore in Ireland, thus making him Lord Baltimore.[63] With his retirement from public service, Lord Baltimore focused his energies and finances on establishing a colony unlike the others in North America. He had established his Avalon colony as a proprietary possession but, after visiting his cold quasi-kingdom in Newfoundland, he requested property to settle farther south in the more hospitable area originally considered to be part of Virginia.[64]

Baltimore chartered his colony as a "Palatine province, a medieval concept designed to give quasi-royal powers to a noble proprietor in return for settling and stabilizing some dangerous frontier zone."[65] This was to be a colony under the rule of a Proprietor, not the King. After visiting Virginia and receiving a cool but civil reception due to his religion, Baltimore set his sights on the area north of the Potomac River. He faced opposition from William Claiborne, the Secretary of Virginia, who did not want any other settlements in the territory of Virginia.[66]

As a faithful advisor and friend of James I, Baltimore was granted his wish for a Chesapeake colony, and chose to name it Terra Mariae or Mary Land in

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[61] Donald Marquand Dozer, *Portrait of the Free State* (Cambridge, Maryland.: Tidewater Publishers, 1976), 33.

[62] Andrews, *History of Maryland*, 2.

[63] Andrews, *History of Maryland*, 5.

[64] Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, *Maryland: A History 1632-1974* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974), 2.

[65] Meinig, *Shaping America*, 151.

honor of the wife of Charles I, Henrietta Maria.[67] Despite his hard work and political maneuvering, Baltimore did not live to see the legal birth of his colony, nor did he set foot in his realm. He died on April 16, 1632, just two months before the charter's issue.

George's eldest son, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, received the charter for the Maryland colony in June 1632. However, a year earlier, events had taken place that would set the scene for later troubles there. In 1631, William Claiborne occupied Kent Island, a small island in the northern section of the Chesapeake, east of modern-day Annapolis.[68] He purchased the property from the local Susquehannock Indians. Legally Claiborne's outpost could only be considered a trading settlement, but he attempted to secure the area as a protest to Lord Baltimore's perceived encroachment on Virginian territory. Claiborne refused to acknowledge Baltimore's rule over Kent Island but in 1637, Maryland's militia forcibly seized the outpost.[69] Claiborne was driven back to Virginia and this incident was the beginning of problems, both political and religious, between Maryland and its southern neighbor, Virginia.

Cecil Calvert became the first Lord Proprietor of Maryland in 1632. The charter provided the Calvert family with almost royal power over their province. They had authority to establish military control, make war, enact martial law, set up courts and ports, appoint judges and all other civil officers, to found and erect churches, raise taxes, and trade with foreign countries. Inhabitants were to

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[66] Walsh and Fox, *Maryland*, 2.

[67] Dozer, *Free State*, 35. Henrietta Maria was the sister of Louis XIII of France. She died in 1631.

[68] Dozer, *Free State*, 40-41.

[69] Meinig, *Shaping America*, 152.

participate in government and remain royal subjects.[70] The Lord Proprietor of Maryland was, in essence, king of his domain, answering only to the King of England. With such liberties, the Calverts were free to establish what has been called the first experiment of state sponsored religious toleration as they brought Catholicism to Maryland. Many historians have described their precarious existence as Catholics having money, power, and royal appointment during a period of strong anti-Catholic, Protestant rule.[71]

Cecil Calvert could not make the inaugural voyage to Maryland. His younger brother, Leonard, was sent in his place as governor. On November 22, 1633, two ships (the 350-ton *Ark* and the 50-ton *Dove*) sailed from England for Maryland, carrying Governor Calvert, his younger brother, George, two Jesuit priests, and some 128 men and women of high and low birth.[72] A stormy voyage took the ships through the West Indies and on to Virginia by the end of February 1634. By March 5, they had reached the mouth of the Potomac River, and on the 25th they landed on an island in the Potomac. (Figure 2.3) Here the settlers celebrated mass on what they named St. Clement's Island.[73] Together with Captain Henry Fleet as guide and Indian interpreter, Leonard Calvert proceeded to survey his domain and to locate an area suitable for permanent settlement. After meeting with local tribal leaders, respectable relations were established through trade and promises of salvation. Leonard Calvert and Captain Fleet investigated a peninsula

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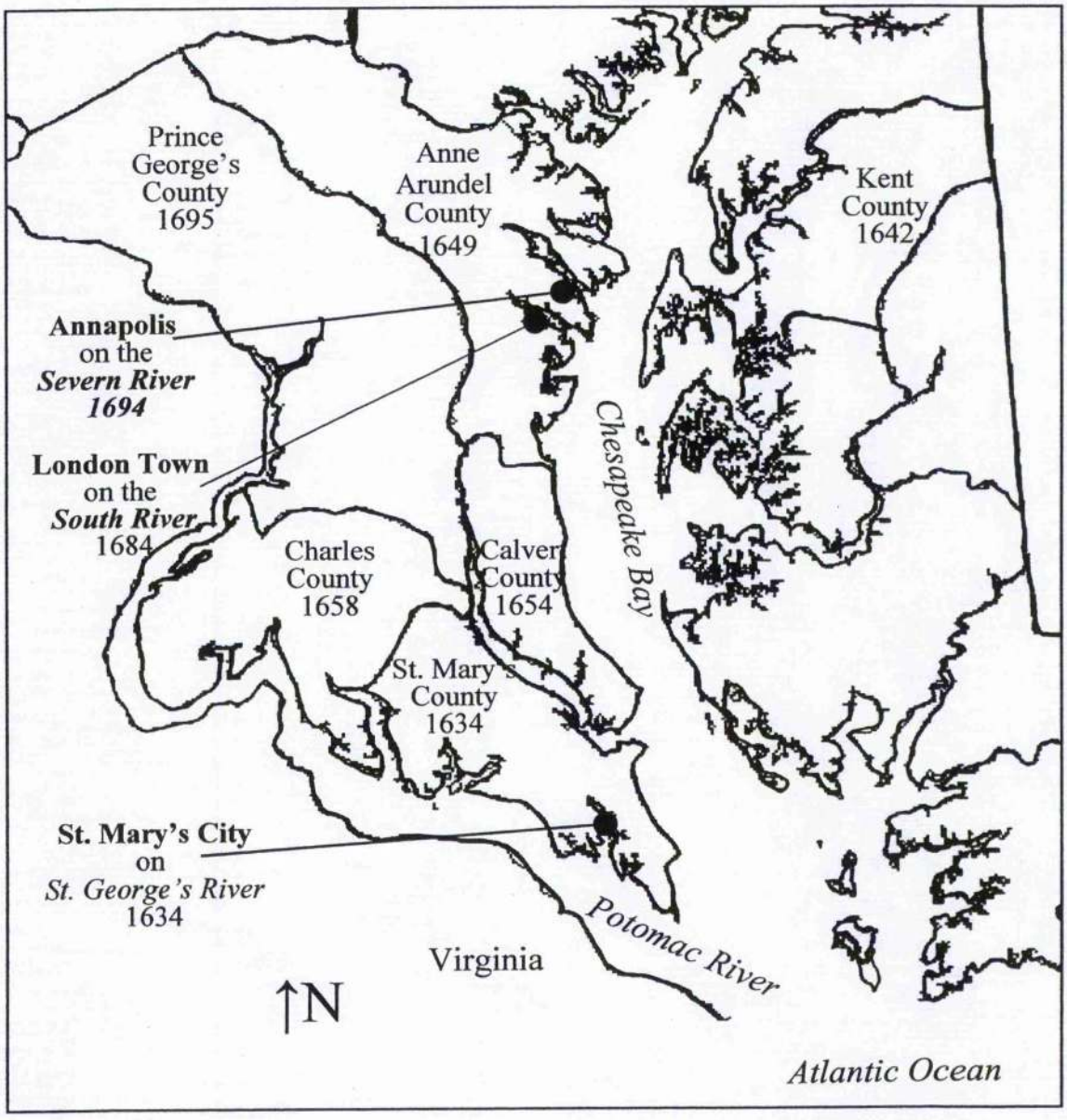
[70] Dozer, *Free State*, 39.

[71] See Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland* (New York: KTO Press, 1981); Clayton C. Hall, *The Lords Baltimore and their Maryland Palatinate* (Baltimore, 1904); William T. Russell, *Maryland: the Land of Sanctuary* (Baltimore, 1907); Henry R. Spalding, *Catholic Colonial Maryland* (Milwaukee, 1931).

[72] Walsh and Fox, *Maryland*, 3-5.

[73] Dozer, *Free State*, 45.

Figure 2.3
Areas of Seventeenth Century
Development in Colonial Maryland



The distance between St. Mary's City in St. Mary's County and Annapolis in Anne Arundel County is approximately 75 miles.

on one of the small tributaries of the Potomac River. They named the body of water St. George's River and the area was deemed navigable and defensible. Indians recently had occupied the area, had cultivated the fields, and tamed the wilderness. This settlement became St. Mary's City, the first permanent settlement in colonial Maryland.

As the people of St. Mary's set to work developing their town, Leonard Calvert set to work building the governmental infrastructure of Maryland. Armed with the experience of the failings of early Jamestown and the experience of Avalon in Newfoundland, Maryland and St. Mary's City did not suffer the same growing pains. Tobacco was planted early on and foodstuffs such as corn were plentiful enough to be exported to New England during the first year.[74] This was no doubt due to the colonists' favorable relations with the Indians. By 1638 an assembly of citizen representatives met at St. Mary's and the area was divided into three hundreds (geographically defined administrative areas). By 1639, there were five hundreds with representation.[75] That same year, the unicameral assembly passed its first religious statute. It stated that the "Holy Church within this Province shall have all her rights, liberties and indemnities, safe, whole and inviolable in all things." Those believing in the "God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost" would be free of persecution from the civil authorities.[76] Its tone was both protectionist and vague, leaving much room for interpretation. The Church of England was not mentioned. Ten years later this act was bolstered by the *Act Concerning Religion* as the Catholic Calvert family took steps to assure religious

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[74] Dozer, *Free State*, 50-51.

[75] Dozer, *Free State*, 56-57.

[76] Dozer, *Free State*, 58.

diversity in their colony.

Settlement, Growth and Struggle for Power

In 1647, Governor Leonard Calvert died and Lord Baltimore decided to appoint an outsider as his successor. William Stone of Virginia served as governor for seven years.[77] Shortly after his appointment, Stone invited the Puritan dissenter Richard Bennett and his followers to settle in Maryland. They migrated from Virginia in 1649 and occupied the north side of the Severn River. They called their town Providence, and within the year, the area was made into the county of Anne Arundel.[78]

Anne Arundel County was formed in 1649 during a period of great unrest.[79] The royalist Virginia governor, William Berkley, harassed the Puritans causing them to migrate to Maryland. In 1648, Berkley closed their dissenting church due to an increase in membership. Lord Baltimore encouraged their settlement although their religious practices (and political views) were in direct conflict with his own and the majority of Maryland's settlers. However, Baltimore wanted and needed more people for his colony and they came from Virginia. The county grew quickly and by 1650, Anne Arundel County was sending representation to the Maryland Assembly, St. Mary's City.

This influx of protestant-royalist colonists caused the Calverts to lose control of the colony temporarily. This was exacerbated by political strife in

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[77] Welch and Fox, *Maryland*, 12.

[78] Al Luckenbach, *Providence, 1649* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1995), 1.

[79] The county was named after the wife of Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore. Lady Anne Arundel died that same year.

England. The anti-Catholic majority in nearby Virginia challenged the proprietary power of Lord Baltimore. In 1644, Leonard Calvert had to flee Maryland for his safety.[80] In an attempt to quell religious tensions in the colony and to assure himself and fellow Catholics future rights, the *Act Concerning Religious Toleration* was presented to the assembly in 1649.[81] Again, this act was vague, much like the previous 1639 Act Concerning Religion, but it attempted to protect individual religious rights while legislating behavior. Those deemed blasphemous could have their goods and lands taken, as well as face the death penalty. Further, reproachful words were not to be used in reference to the Virgin Mary, Holy Apostles, and Evangelists. Monetary fines and bodily punishments were dispensed for such infractions. The most notable part of the act protected individuals from verbal harassment based on their religious affiliation on pain of fines (for the first offense), whipping and imprisonment (for second offense) or forfeiture of property and banishment (for repeating offenders). Half of any fines collected were to go to the taunted as retribution. In addition, the act stipulated that the Sabbath would be kept "under pain of fines."[82] Also, those found swearing or drunk on Sunday would be fined. This Act was not received warmly because of the flux in the political climate. In 1649, Charles I was executed by order of England's Parliament. With Charles's death, Lord Baltimore lost his strongest ally. Thus, the power base of the colony began to shift from St. Mary's to the quickly growing protestant majority located many miles away in Anne Arundel County. (See Figure 2.3)

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[80] Middleton, *Colonial America*, 79.

[81] Middleton, *Colonial America*, 78-79.

[82] Dozer, *Free State*, 90-91.

The aforementioned Richard Bennett and Lord Baltimore's main opponent, William Claiborne, were supported by a group of loyalists living in Anne Arundel County. In 1654, when Catholics were banned from voting by the Protestant majority, the loyalists took over the Maryland Assembly.[83] This resulted in the "Battle of the Severn" on March 25, 1655 after which the Puritans gained control over the Maryland government for three years.[84] Lord Baltimore and Governor Stone attempted to oust the followers of Bennett and Claiborne during the occupation, but they were defeated.

Lord Baltimore was able to establish favorable relations with the English Commonwealth government of Oliver Cromwell, eventually regaining control over his colony in 1657. After being reinstated as Lord Proprietor, he pardoned his Puritan opponents and the assembly accepted the religious toleration act.[85] When the monarchy was restored in 1660, the second Lord Baltimore had royal support in Charles II. During the 1660s and 1670, the population which was centered in Anne Arundel County grew and quickly surpassed that of St. Mary's City.[86] A few of the Virginia Puritan families (the Beards, Burgeses, and Puddingtons) that immigrated to Anne Arundel County became the founders of London Town.

MARYLAND POPULATION GROWTH: AN OVERVIEW

Various provincial and church records can be used to study the growth of Maryland and Anne Arundel County during the colonial period, but many of the sources are incomplete and specialized. Therefore, it is impossible with the

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[83] Walsh and Fox, *Maryland*, 13.

[84] Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 50-54.

[85] Middleton, *Colonial America*, 79.

information available to provide definitive figures for the population of Maryland during the seventeenth century. However, some records do provide insight about the rate of growth in the colony and the diversity of the population. Although Maryland, as a whole, experienced robust growth in the eighteenth-century, Anne Arundel County did not. This in turn affected the growth and decline of London Town and is one of the most significant factors that contributed to the demise of the small tobacco port. Baltimore City and its surrounding county, to the north, replaced Anne Arundel County as a center of commerce in the eighteenth century. Baltimore City's large, deep harbor made it a magnet for shipping and its many flour mills helped establish a more diversified trade.

Population growth was documented in many enumerations conducted by Maryland's governors and sent to the Board of Trade in London. The first such record was made in 1694, the year Annapolis was established.[87] (Chart 2.1) Although this first count only included "taxables" and not the total population, it is clear that well over 10,381 people resided in Maryland at the end of the seventeenth century. [88]

In 1701, Colonel Nathaniel Blakiston (Governor from late 1698 until 1702) provided a list, by county, of "Taxables, Untaxed and Total" inhabitants of Maryland.[89] Blakiston estimated that 32,258 people lived in Maryland at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He prefaced his report to the Board of Trade

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[86] Luckenbach, *Providence*, 3.

[87] Archives of Maryland, Proceedings *of the Council of Maryland 1698-1731*, ed. William Hand Browne (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1905), 25: 255. The Board of Trade and Plantations was an administrative oversight body for the American colonies. Colonel Nicholson sent these numbers to the Board of Trade. There are records for 1694, 1695, and 1696.

[88] Archives of Maryland, 25: 255. For 1696, taxables only.

[89] This list did not include Baltimore County.

Chart 2.1
Maryland Colonial Population
from 1694 to 1704

"Taxables in Maryland," by Governor Sir Francis Nicholson, from 1694 to 1696			
County	**1694**	**1695**	**1696**
Anne Arundel	1,539	1,525	1,564
Saint Mary's	1,006	1,014	1,049
Calvert	1,787	1,791	1,045
Charles	895	871	991
Baltimore	468	496	495
Cecil	618	669	0
Kent	447	467	515
Talbot	1,505	1,509	1,379
Dorchester	661	649	628
Somerset	1,439	1,450	1,388
Prince George's	0	0	658
Mathematical Totals	10,365	10,441	9,712
Reported Totals	[9,747]	[10,390]	[10,381]
"A List of Inhabitants of Maryland, 1701," by Governor Colonel Nathaniel Blakiston, from 1698 to 1702			
County	**Taxable**	**Untaxed**	**Total**
Prince George's	963	1,395	2,358
Charles	946	1,686	2,632
Cecil	870	1,124	2,004
Kent	707	1,223	1,930
St. Mary's	1,277	2,236	3,513
Calvert	1,248	1,569	2,817
Somerset	1,680	3,724	5,404
Dorchester	0	868	2,617
Talbot	1,846	3,016	4,862
Anna Arundel	1,809	2,312	4,121
Mathematical Totals	11,346	19,153	32,258
Reported Totals	[12,214]	[20,044]	[32,258]

The mathematical analysis of the sums provided by the records did not match the actual sum. Therefore, both numbers are provided. From the Maryland State Archives, *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, pg. 255.

with a warning statement that suggested many more people may have inhabited the colony in 1701:

> I am too sensible they [the numbers] are not so perfect as they ought to be, but going through so many hands who are respective Constables and officers & c. and they being very illiterate make it almost Unpracticable to perform with that Exactness your Lordships are pleased to require.[90]

As the century progressed, more accurate and detailed accounts of the Maryland colony's population were undertaken. In 1704, Governor Colonel John Seymour (from 1704 to 1709) made a very detailed report, breaking down the population numbers into seven demographic groups: Masters of Families, Free Women & Servants, Free Children Boys and Girls, Freemen & Servants Men, Servants Boys & Girls, Slaves Young & Old and Fit to Bear Arms. In 1704, Maryland's population was considered to be 34,863 roughly, 13% of that number were slaves.[91] (Chart 2.2)

Between 1709 and 1714, Major General Edward Lloyd ruled as governor of Maryland. He undertook two counts of Maryland's inhabitants. In 1710, the population numbered 42,741. In 1712, he compiled "A Complete List of the number of Christian Men, Women, and Children and of Negro slaves in the Province of Maryland."[92] This produced a total of 46,159 Marylanders, 18% of whom were enslaved. (Chart 2.3) From these few, scattered records it appears that the population of Maryland grew by nearly eight percent (to 34,863) during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Anne Arundel County was the major

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[90] Archives of Maryland, 25: 255. "A List of the Inhabitants of Maryland, 1701." The numbers provided in the report do not match the mathematical totals.

[91] Archives of Maryland, 25: 265.

[92] Archives of Maryland, 25: 358. In a letter from Mr. Edward Lloyd, President of the Council to the Board of Trade, 15 July 1712.

Chart 2.2

Population of Maryland Counties, 1704

"A List of Men, Women, Children & Slaves in her Majesty's Province of Maryland in 1704, referred to in Col. Seymour's letter of 3rd July 1705."

County	Masters of Families	Free Women & Servants	Free Children, Boys & Girls	Freeman & Servant Men	Servants Boys & Girls	Slaves Young & Old	Fit to Bear Arms	*County Totals*
Anne Arundel	716	1,058	1,418	503	145	672	1,272	4,512
St. Mary's	418	617	1,065	938	151	326	1,356	3,515
Kent	264	413	608	393	54	159	639	1,891
Calvert	309	560	942	619	243	938	928	3,611
Charles	408	485	931	390	197	578	868	2,989
Talbot	712	914	1,207	822	115	460	1,534	4,230
Baltimore	364	418	632	235	74	204	803	1,927
Somerset	804	1,167	1,436	642	83	305	1,546	4,437
Dorcester	305	512	814	418	64	199	723	2,312
Cecil	407	489	716	430	95	198	837	2,335
Prince George's	416	530	1,166	464	92	436	880	3,104
Totals	5,123	7,163	10,935	5,854	1,313	4,475	11,386	34,863
Percent of Total Population	11%	15%	24%	13%	3%	10%	24%	

Slaves accounted for 13% of the population of Maryland in 1704.
Archives of Maryland, 25: 256.

Chart 2.3

Maryland Inhabitants by County: 1710 and 1712

"Number of White Men, Women & Children & of Negroes young and old in Her Majesty's Province of Maryland, 1710," Major General Edward Lloyd.

County	Masters and Taxable Men	White Women	White Children	Negroes	Totals
Anne Arundel	1,014	793	1,443	1,528	4,778
Prince George's	845	637	1,215	1,297	3,994
Calvert	708	560	1,014	934	3,216
St. Mary's	1,088	827	1,538	668	4,121
Charles	951	641	1,199	638	3,429
Somerset	1,871	1,194	2,670	579	6,314
Kent	974	753	547	479	2,753
Talbot	1,103	851	1,681	470	4,105
Baltimore	733	558	1,098	438	2,827
Queen Anne's	808	644	1,241	374	3,067
Dorchester	499	430	909	343	2,181
Cecil	497	406	856	197	1,956
Total	*11,091*	*8,294*	*15,411*	*7,945*	*42,741*

"A Complete list of the Number of Christian Men, Women and Children and also of Negro Slaves in the Province of Maryland, 1712" Major General Edward Lloyd.

County	Masters & Taxable	White Women	Children	Negroes	Totals
Anne Arundel	985	885	1,574	1,559	5,003
Calvert	644	597	1,080	1,179	3,500
Charles	993	783	1,507	742	4,025
Prince George's	790	600	1,198	1,202	3,790
Baltimore	785	572	1,114	452	2,923
St Mary's	998	812	1,768	512	4,090
Cecil	504	435	873	285	2,097
Kent	830	575	996	485	2,886
Queen Anne	1,011	843	1,446	550	3,850
Talbot	1,114	864	1,708	492	4,178
Dorchester	759	747	1,582	387	3,475
Somerset	1,606	1,368	2,787	581	6,342
Totals	*11,019*	*9,081*	*17,633*	*8,426*	*46,159*

Archives of Maryland, 25: 358.

area of development in Maryland during this early period. The colonial capital moved from St. Mary's to Annapolis in 1694, which caused a shift in population and commerce. During the period discussed above (from 1694 to 1712), Anne Arundel County had the highest population on the Western Shore of Maryland, although many Eastern Shore counties show greater growth during this period.[93] By 1701, Anne Arundel County contained twice as many people than any of its Western Shore counterparts. Furthermore, by 1704 Anne Arundel County had the highest population in the entire colony of Maryland (4,512).[94] By 1712, the colony grew to 46,159 with 11% of the total (5,003) living near the colonial capital.[95] Although Anne Arundel County's prominence would later be displaced by its northern neighbor, Baltimore County, during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Anne Arundel County was then the economic, governmental and population center of Maryland.

Slavery was a way of life in colonial Maryland and the mid-Atlantic region. It is difficult to quantify the numbers of slaves in the county but recent efforts have begun to show the scale of the slave trade in Maryland and the Atlantic region.[96] It is estimated that a minimum of 10,339 Africans disembarked on Maryland soil as

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[93] During the colonial period, Maryland was divided into two districts; the Eastern and Western Shores. This is a natural geographic division caused by the Chesapeake Bay. This was carried over into the administration of Maryland as there were separate courts and other offices for both areas. By 1701 Dorchester and Talbot counties on the Eastern Shore contained more inhabitants than Anne Arundel County; AA Co. with 4,121, Talbot with 4,862 and Somerset with 5,404.

[94] Archives of Maryland, 25: 256.

[95] Archives of Maryland, 25: 358.

[96] David Eltis, et al. *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

slaves during the period from 1701 to 1800.[97] (Chart 2.4) There are 54 documented voyages for this period. Of course, this enumeration of slaves transported to Maryland does not take into account the number of individuals born into slavery every year in Maryland.

When compared with its neighbors to the north and south, Maryland was a moderate slave importer. For example, the colonies of Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey accepted only 12 slave voyages during the same period (from 1701 to 1800), totaling some 1,018 slaves.[98] However, in stark comparison, the colony of Virginia saw 406 voyages during the same period, totaling some 78,996 slaves. The colonies of Maryland and Virginia had the most similar economic system: tobacco production based on plantations. The three northern colonies of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey also were involved in trade. However, the nature of that trade consisted of import and re-export or retail activities. They were not directly involved in a cash crop economy such as the tobacco trade.

To the south of the mid-Atlantic region lay North and South Carolina. During the colonial period, they were often identified as one entity, the Carolinas. Their economy also was based on a cash crop (rice) that required large plantations and a large labor force. The Carolinas, between 1701 and 1800 imported 103,934 slaves in some 516 voyages, more than ten times the number of slaves that Maryland imported during the same period.

There is a dearth of information on the population of Maryland from 1712

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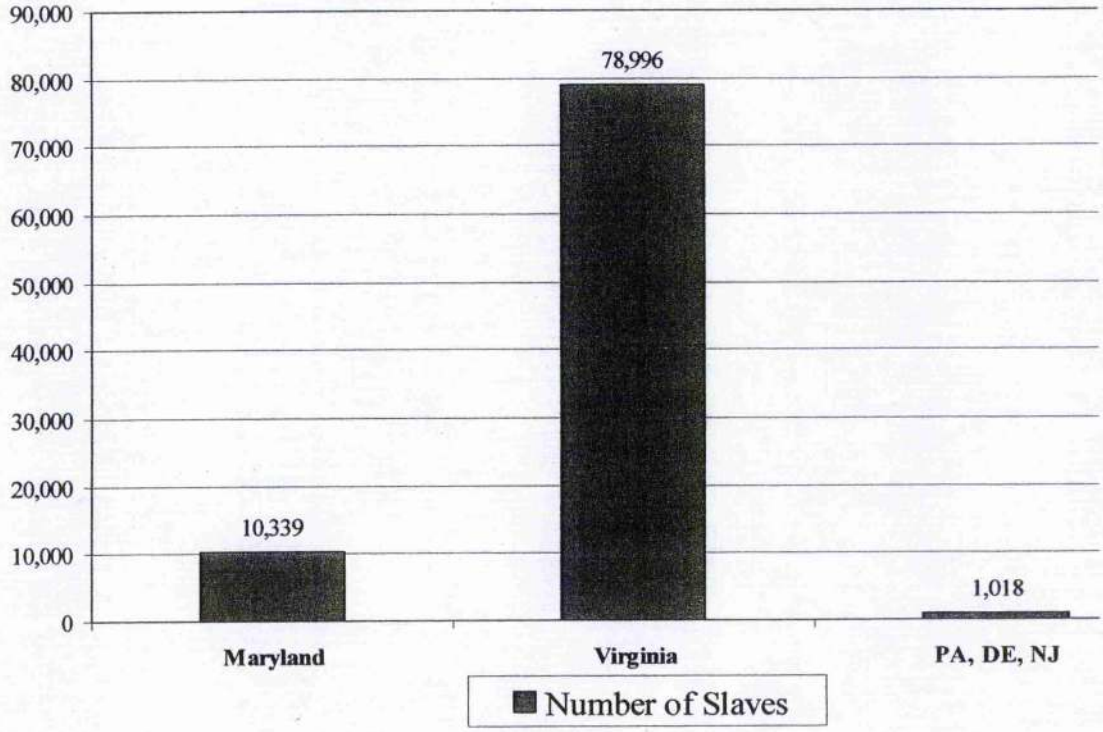
[97] Eltis, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.* Query: "MJSELIMP=9" Year 100=1700 Where slaves disenbarked+Maryland=54 records from 1701-1800. The same queries were run for Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey as well as the Carolinas.

[98] Eltis, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.* These three regions were reported together in his study. The low number of slave voyages to these three colonies was likely due to their Quaker population (in many cases antislavery) and the retail nature of their economies.

Chart 2.4

Slaves Imported to the Mid-Atlantic from 1701 to 1800



until the middle of the eighteenth century. However, in 1755 a very detailed census was taken. It defined three groups of "Taxable Persons 16 Years of Age (and over), Persons Not Taxable, and Persons Under 16 years of Age."[99] Within each category, individuals were grouped as free, servant, convict, or slave and white, mulatto or black. Each group was further divided into male and female, boys and girls. Over 40 years had elapsed since Maryland's last enumeration and during that time, the population had grown more than threefold, totaling 153,363. (Chart 2.5) By 1755, Maryland had 14 counties; two additional counties having been carved out of the existing twelve. (Figure 2.4) The creation of Worcester County (1742, created from part of Somerset County) on the Eastern Shore and Frederick County (1748, created from parts of both Baltimore and Prince George's Counties) on the Western Shore, denote the settlement pattern that dominated the latter half of the eighteenth century: development and growth of the Eastern Shore and westward expansion to the unsettled parts of the Maryland colony.

Maryland grew to the west with the establishment of Frederick County in 1748. By 1755, this new county contained nearly 14,000 people. Anne Arundel County slipped to third place in population totals by mid-century as Baltimore County began the growth spurt that would last until the middle of the next century. From this enumeration, it is clear that the Western Shore began to dominate Maryland with Baltimore City as its new commercial center. By 1755, over 17,000 people resided in Baltimore County compared to the 14,000 in Anne Arundel. The 1712 census records indicate that about 18% of Maryland's population consisted of slaves. Slavery was well established in Maryland and

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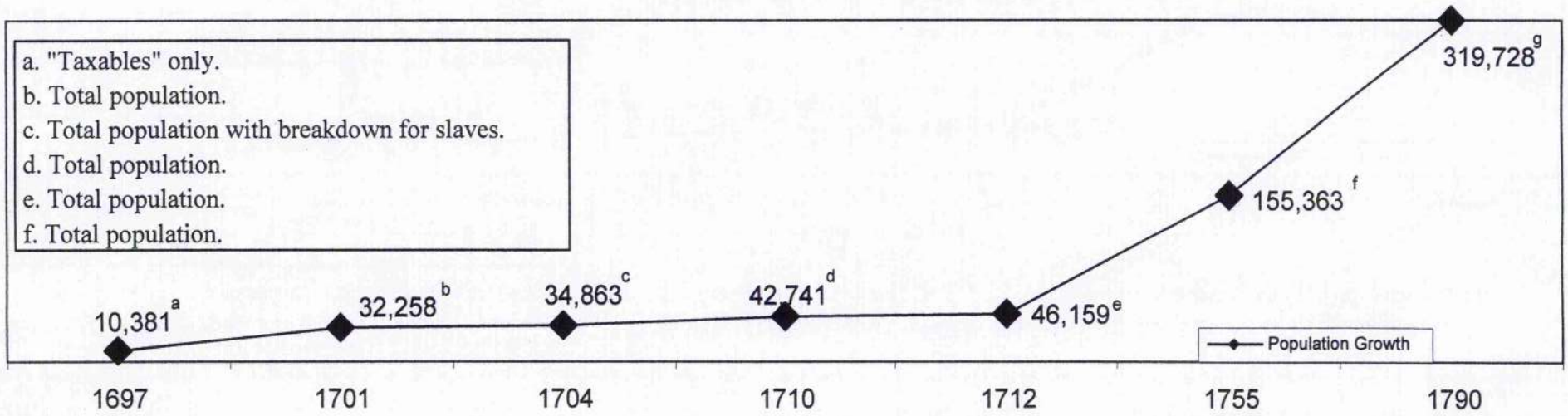
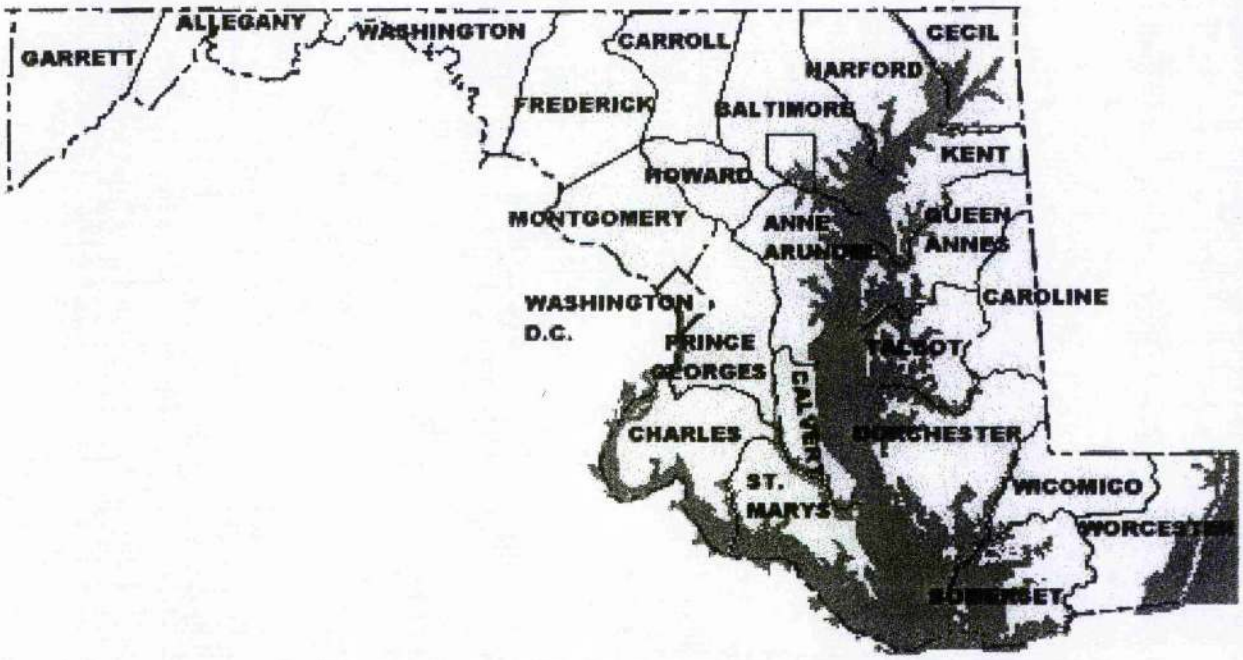
[99] Edward C. Papenfuse, and Joseph M. Coale III, *Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608-1908* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.), 37. From "The Population of Maryland, 1755," *Gentleman's Magazine* 34 (1764).

Chart 2.5
Population in Maryland 1697-1790



Sources: a) Archives of Maryland 25: 255. b) Archives of Maryland 25: 255. c) Archives of Maryland 25: 265. d) Archives of Maryland 25: 358. e) Archives of Maryland 25: 358. f) *Gentleman's Magazine* 34 (1764) "The Population of Maryland, 1755."g) US Census Bureau "Maryland 1790."

Figure 2.4
Maryland Counties and their Founding Dates



St. Mary's	1637	Worcester	1742
Kent	1642	Frederick	1748
Anne Arundel	1650	Harford	1773
Calvert	1654	Caroline	1773
Charles	1658	Montgomery	1776
Baltimore	1660	Washington	1776
Talbot	1662	Allegheny	1789
Somerset	1666	Carroll	1837
Cecil	1674	Howard	1851
Prince George's	1695	Wicomico	1867
Dorchester	1699	Garrett	1872
Queen Anne's	1706	Washington, DC	1800

Anne Arundel County by 1755, when that number grew to nearly 30%. In both 1712 and 1755, approximately 30% of Anne Arundel County's population consisted of slaves.

The 1776 census is an insufficient tool for this study.[100] It was taken to establish the population fit for military service at the time of the American Revolution, but it is not complete, as many counties are not included. For example, the numbers for Anne Arundel County includes only its two southern parishes; All Hallows and St. James (excluding St. Ann's in Annapolis and St. Margaret's between Annapolis and Baltimore). Furthermore, the two sources that offer information on the census only include partial counts of eight Maryland counties in one source and nine counties in another source.[101] Therefore, numbers from the 1776 census could not be used to provide any meaningful data.

The first federal census of the United States was taken in 1790.[102] This provides a very detailed picture of North America at the end of the eighteenth century by which time the 13 colonies had grown to 16 states.[103] Similarly, Maryland consisted of 14 counties in 1755 but had grown to 19 counties in 1790. (See Figure 2.4) By 1790, Maryland ranked sixth in total population behind the

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[100] This census was taken to establish the number of able-bodied men available to serve the colonies in the American war for independence. It is a very fragmented record.

[101] The two sources are: Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records: Colonial, Revolutionary, County and Church from Original Sources,* 2 Vols. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1985. Originally published in 1915 and 1928). This collection makes no attempt at computation; it is simply a transcription of various and random records. The second source, Bettie Stirling Carothers, *1776 Census of Maryland* (Maryland: Willow Bend Books, 2000. Originally published in 1972) is similar in that it does not provide hard numbers for the data supplied. In most cases, only a few parishes or hundreds are provided and it is presented as a genealogical research tool, listing names, and the person's location in 1776. It offers no quantitative analysis for the population of any of Maryland's counties or for Maryland as a whole in 1776.

[102] U.S. Bureau of Census, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965), 8 & 9.

states of Virginia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Massachusetts, and New York. Virginia was the most populous state in 1790 (747,610) with more than double the population of its northern neighbor, Maryland. (Chart 2.6)

During the 35 years since the previous census (1755), Maryland's population grew by 108% (from 153,363 to 319,728). This doubling in population was not replicated in Anne Arundel County, which grew only 61% over the same period (from approximately 14,000 to 22,600 in 1790). Baltimore County grew at a rate higher than that of the state as a whole. (Chart 2.7) Its population grew 125% in 35 years, more than double that of Anne Arundel County (from 17,288 in 1755 to 38,937 in 1790).[104] Again in 1790, Anne Arundel County was ranked third in population as Baltimore City had become one of the most populous cities in the United States, demonstrating that the state's trade and population were concentrated in a new location.[105]

Annapolis, London Town, and Anne Arundel County experienced rapid growth and development during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This was likely due to the development of the port towns from the 1683 town acts as well as the establishment of Annapolis as Maryland's new capital in 1694. Annapolis opened the northern part of the Western Shore to development. Furthermore, as Protestants obtained control of what had been perceived as a Catholic colony they encouraged settlement. The population number bears this

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[103] Virginia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, South Carolina, Connecticut, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, Georgia, Kentucky, Rhode Island and Delaware.

[104] The numbers for Baltimore County include both the City of Baltimore and the County.

[105] NYPL, *American History Desk Reference*, 215. In 1790, Baltimore was the fourth populous city: 1st Philadelphia, PA; 2nd New York, NY; 3rd Boston, MA. By 1810, Baltimore was ranked number three.

Chart 2.6

First Census of the United States, by State: 1790

Rank by Population	District	Free White Males of 16 Years and Upward, Including Heads of Families	Free White Males Under 16 Years.	Free White Females, Including Heads of Families.	All Other Free Persons.	Slaves	*Total*
1	Virginia	110,936	116,135	215,046	12,866	292,627	***747,610***
2	Pennsylvania	110,788	106,948	206,363	6,537	3,737	***434,373***
3	North Carolina	69,988	77,506	140,710	4,975	100,572	***393,751***
4	Massachusetts	95,453	87,289	190,582	5,463	0	***378,787***
5	New York	83,700	78,122	152,320	4,654	21,324	***340,120***
6	Maryland	55,915	51,339	101,395	8,043	103,036	***319,728***
7	South Carolina	35,576	37,722	66,880	1,801	107,094	***249,073***
8	Connecticut	60,523	54,403	117,448	2,808	2,764	***237,946***
9	New Jersey	45,251	41,416	83,287	2,762	11,423	***184,139***
10	New Hampshire	36,086	34,851	70,160	630	158	***141,885***
11	Maine	24,384	24,748	46,870	538	0	***96,540***
12	Vermont	22,435	22,328	40,505	255	16	***85,539***
13	Georgia	13,103	14,044	25,739	398	29,264	***82,548***
14	Kentucky	15,154	17,057	28,922	114	12,430	***73,677***
15	Rhode Island	16,019	15,799	32,652	3,407	948	***68,825***
16	Delaware	11,783	12,143	22,384	3,899	8,887	***59,096***
	Totals	***807,094***	***791,850***	***1,541,263***	***59,150***	***694,280***	***3,893,637***

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland.* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965), 8.

Chart 2.7
1790 Census of Maryland by County

State of Maryland County	Free White Males of 16 Years and Upward, Including Heads of Families	Percent Free White Males	Free White Males Under 16 Years.	Free White Females, Including Heads of Families.	All Other Free Persons.	Slaves	Percent Slaves	*Total*
Frederick	7,010	23%	7,016	12,911	213	3,641	12%	30,791
Baltimore	5,184	20%	4,668	9,101	604	5,877	23%	25,434
Anne Arundel	3,142	14%	2,850	5,672	804	10,130	45%	22,598
Prince George's	2,653	12%	2,503	4,848	164	11,176	52%	21,344
Charles	2,565	12%	2,399	5,160	404	10,085	49%	20,613
Montgomery	3,284	18%	2,746	5,649	294	6,030	33%	18,003
Dorchester	2,541	16%	2,430	5,039	528	5,337	34%	15,875
Washington	3,738	24%	3,863	6,871	64	1,286	8%	15,822
Somerset	2,185	14%	1,908	4,179	268	7,070	45%	15,610
St. Mary's	2,100	14%	1,943	4,173	343	6,985	45%	15,544
Queen Ann's	2,158	14%	1,974	4,039	618	6,674	43%	15,463
Harford	2,872	19%	2,812	5,100	775	3,417	23%	14,976
Cecil	2,847	21%	2,377	4,831	163	3,407	25%	13,625
Baltimore Town	3,866	29%	2,556	5,503	323	1,255	9%	13,503
Talbot	1,938	15%	1,712	3,581	1,076	4,777	37%	13,084
Kent	1,876	15%	1,547	3,325	655	5,433	42%	12,836
Worcester	1,985	17%	1,916	3,725	178	3,836	33%	11,640
Caroline	1,812	19%	1,727	3,489	421	2,057	22%	9,506
Calvert	1,091	13%	1,109	2,011	136	4,305	50%	8,652
Allegany	1,068	22%	1,283	2,188	12	258	5%	4,809
Totals:	55,915		51,339	101,395	8,043	103,036		319,732

Source: U. S. Bureau of Census. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965), 8 & 9.

out. This area of the colony saw the concentration of business (shipping and trade) and government after the colonial capital moved from St. Mary's to Annapolis in 1694. London Town, established in 1684, had floundered since its founding until the development of Annapolis gave it better reasons for being and for growth: ferry crossings and shipping commerce.

However, the population growth of Anne Arundel County and London Town was dwarfed by that of Baltimore County after 1755 and into the nineteenth century. Baltimore City was superior to Annapolis geographically in that it lay on a fall line between the Piedmont to the north and the Tidal Plane to the south. It was well suited for mills because many rivers run through the area to meet the Chesapeake Bay via Baltimore Harbour. Other types of industry, such as mining, prospered in the area because of natural iron reserves. Furthermore, Baltimore had a larger and deeper harbour. Annapolis was the government capital of the colony, but was not centrally located or part of an industrial region. To this day, the capital city of Annapolis remains much as it was 250 years ago, located off the main road system and mostly concerned with governance. Baltimore, on the other hand, has Pennsylvania's bountiful wheat fields to the north, and is located on the main road the runs the length of the east coast from New York to Georgia. From 1755 until 1790, Baltimore County surpassed Anne Arundel County in development of trade and in population growth. After the American Revolution, and the creation of the United States, trading ports like London Town were no longer protected by the forces of the mercantile system such as the Board of Trade. London Town, by reason of its location in Anne Arundel County and its dependence on Annapolis for commerce, shared Anne Arundel County's fate of a more agricultural, pastoral lifestyle. During the nineteenth century, Maryland's population centre

permanently shifted to the north, contributing to the demise of London Town. In spite of this shift, the study has found that London Town was the only other town, (other than Annapolis) during the eighteenth century that supported trade and a defined settlement in Anne Arundel County, acting, for a time, as a commercial arena supporting and sustaining the international tobacco trade in Maryland.

Chapter 3: The Founding of London Town

The genesis of London Town is well documented in the *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland* (1683 and 1684).[106] However, the implementation, rate, and type of development resulting from the legislation can only be ascertained from of detailed research (presented herein) using land and probate records as well as newspapers. This study of London Town helps to explain the nature and forces behind the development of tobacco towns in Maryland.

London Town was part of a great and ambitious experiment to promote economic growth through trade, which was to be channelled and regulated through a series of small port towns set up in every county. This act was also an attempt to stabilize and develop the tobacco market and to legislate urban development with the hope of creating many small economic centers to regulate trade and curtail smuggling.[107] This endeavour to generated revenue through taxes on tobacco and other trade and provided a template for town formation. Nevertheless, it failed to establish many long-lasting settlements. In 1683, the Maryland Assembly elected to establish three new towns (to be erected in 1684) "in the County of Ann Arrundell att the Towne Land att Proctors & att South River on Coll Burges his

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[106] The act discussed in this chapter was not the first attempt at town development in Maryland. There were many starts and stops in the process beginning in 1668 and again in 1671. London Town was not proposed in the previous acts therefore only the 1683 act is addressed. For a very detailed study of legislation and town development in Virginia and Maryland, see: John W. Reps, *Tidewater Towns, City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland.* (Williamsburg, Virginia: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972).

[107] Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*), 78-118. In chapter 3, "The Trouble with Tobacco 1700-1750," Kulikoff outlines similar attempts and their varied results.

Land & att Herring Creeke on the Towne Land. . . ."[108] The location on the South River ("Coll. Burgess Land" or Colonel Burges's Land) was later named London Town. The other two towns appear to have experienced very little development. The "Town Land at Proctors" was a predecessor of Annapolis and was located in the same general area.[109] However, the town of Arundelton, later renamed Annapolis, was laid out formally, and developed in 1694 when it became the site of Maryland's new capital. The town on Herring Creek called Herrington appears to have had only five developed "town lots."[110] References to Herrington do appear in seventeenth century county land records but the town apparently was abandoned, as there very few references to the town in the eighteenth century. London Town was the only town (other than the capital Annapolis) in Anne Arundel County that experienced any level of permanency resulting from the 1683 act intended to stimulate trade.

WILLIAM BURGES AND THE ACT FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF TRADE, 1683

William Burges arrived in Maryland's South River area from Virginia in 1650, and obtained a certificate for a 300-acre piece of property in 1651.[111] In 1658, the rent rolls for Anne Arundel County listed a piece of property under the name of William Burges. It was surveyed in mid-December 1658 and was described as being "On the South Side of South River adjoining to the land of

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[108] Archives of Maryland, *Acts and Proceedings of the Assembly*, vol. 7 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society), 609.

[109] Proctor was the original owner of the property.

[110] Anthony Lindauer, *Herrington Town Land: Background Historical Research* (Manuscript) Anne Arundel County's Lost Towns Project, 1999. Anne Arundel County's Lost Towns Project was awarded a grant from the Maryland Historical Trust in 2001 to conduct a Phase 1 archaeological survey to find the lost town of Herrington. Research is ongoing (Summer 2003).

[111] Uncharacteristically, this property was not named in the record.

Bessendson & Scorton."[112] This property was called Burgh.

William Burges served as an Anne Arundel County Justice in 1657 and again in 1662 and 1663, when he was called Captain for his service in the Maryland militia. In 1668 and 1671, he was active in county government, serving as a Delegate.[113] In 1676, William Burges was an Anne Arundel County Justice, and his title had changed to Colonel.

On November 3, 1682, the Upper House appointed two members to work with the Lower House on an act that was in its final stages of revision. As a member of the Upper House, Colonel William Burges helped to create "An Act for the Advancement of Trade."[114] Initially, the act was meant to promote the trade of tobacco, but the members of the House revised it to encourage all types of trade within the colony. In November of 1683, this act decreed the establishment of 30 new port towns in the ten counties of Maryland: St. Mary's, Kent, Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles, Baltimore, Talbot, Somerset, Dorchester, and Cecil.[115] A subsequent addendum to this act in April of 1684 specified an additional 14 towns.[116]

In 1683, Colonel Burges was named Land Commissioner to carry out the legislation for the establishment of port areas in the colony. Not only was Burges appointed Commissioner to oversee the execution of the act, but also a section of his own property on the South River was designated as one of the new town sites.

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[112] MSA AA Co. Deeds, Rent Roll Liber 1, folio 36; 1650-1776.

[113] J. D. Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1973), 38-40.

[114] Archives of Maryland, 7: 351.

[115] Archives of Maryland, 7: 609-620.

[116] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings and Acts of the Assembly*, vol. 13 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1894), 111.

The Act stated that:

> From & after the last day of August 1685 the towns, ports & places hereafter mentioned in the several & respective counties within this Province shall be the ports & places where all ships & vessels trading into this province shall unlade & put on shore & sell, barter & traffic away all goods, wares & commodities that shall be imported into this Province inserted to be sold here or transported out of this Province shall be for that end & intent brought to the said ports & places. That is to say. . . in the county of Anne Arundel. . . at South River on Col. Burges, his land. [117]

This act for the advancement of trade initiated the development of Colonel Burges's land. This 800-acre tract of land was originally called Scorton and was first purchased by George Westhill in 1659.[118] In 1673, Colonel William Burges purchased "Scorton" and it became the site for London Town in 1684.[119]

Just as no maps of London Town have been discovered, no contemporary writings describe the town in detail. There are many deeds and newspaper advertisements (for example, goods and slaves for sale, services offered, people living in the town) but no documentary evidence exists to reveal the town's physical appearance and layout. However, there is a blueprint for the town because the town act of 1683 is very detailed in its description of how the town should have looked and been developed. It begins with a delineation of the process for 'platting' the town. First, the 24 commissioners for Anne Arundel County were to locate an appropriate property and make proper arrangements for purchase, considering the interest of the owner. The next step was to survey the chosen property and then:

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[117] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings of the Assembly*, vol. 7, 609. The Act was passed in 1683 and town development was to occur during 1684 through August 1685 by which each commission must have completed the town's initial layout and begun selling lots.

[118] Also recorded as George Westall. "Scorton" MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber 4, Folio 39 and Liber Q, folio 454; 1659.

[119] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber WT1, folio 271; 1673.

> Of the said one hundred acres of land shall cause the same to be marked, staked out and divided into convenient streets, lanes and allies, with open space places to be left on which may be erected church or chapel and market house, or other public buildings & the remaining part of the said one hundred acres of land as near as may be into one hundred equal lots, marked on some posts and stakes towards the street or lanes with number (1:2:3:4) and so to (100).[120]

Also, the town acts stipulated that each lot transaction be recorded. One of the designated commissioners was required to keep a book of lot transactions for each town:

> The commissioners of each respective county in this act named, appoint a person to keep a book to enter down each mans choice of any respective lot that he shall choose, that hereby it may appear what lots are taken up, and what remain indisposed of and in case any difference happen to arise. . . .[121]

However, the plat book of London Town has never been discovered.

Even without an original plat map of London Town, it has been possible to determine that the town consisted of the standard 100 acres of land. (Figure 3.1) Equal and regular lots were surveyed, theoretically all at one time, and marked with numbered stakes. Streets of varying sizes were laid out and areas were reserved as open public spaces. It is interesting to note that the act did not dictate that the towns had to erect churches. It merely states that open space to erect churches or chapels was to be considered in the town planning. This omission may explain the absence of a church in London Town.

In 1692 (though debated over until 1704), the Church of England became Maryland's established church. All Hallows Parish Church, located only four and a half miles from London Town, served as the religious center for the community

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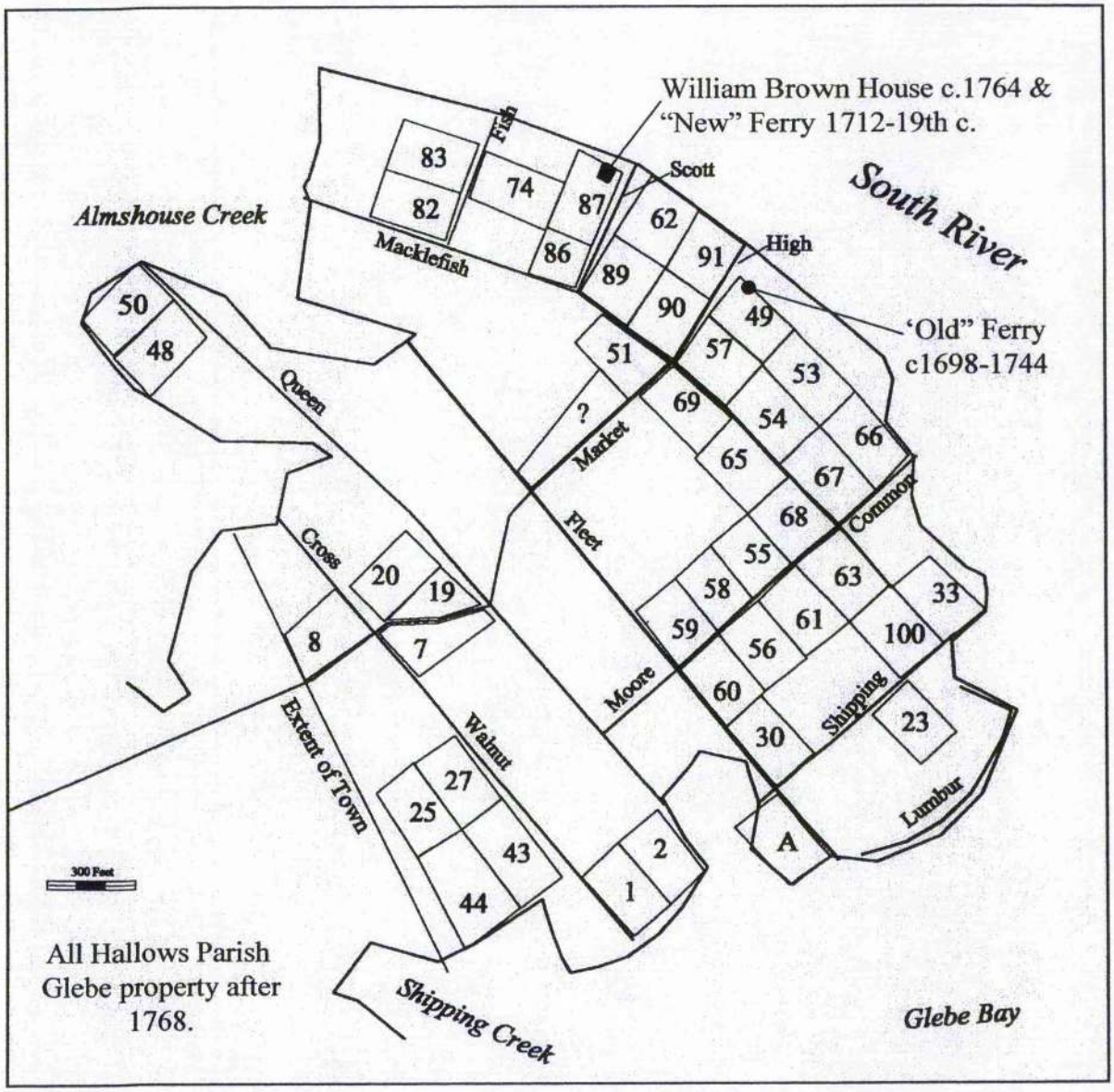
[120] Archives of Maryland, 7:609. The author has transcribed these sections of the act and modernized the spelling for clarity.

[121] Archives of Maryland, 7: 614.

Figure 3.1
Plat Reconstruction of London Town



Source: Anne Arundel County's *Lost Towns Project* GIS Specialist C. Jane Cox, based on the land records of Anne Arundel County from the Maryland State Archives. Lots are to scale: one acre. Street names from cadastral information.

and is where many of the colonial period townspeople are buried. Also, there were two (South River and West River) Quaker Meeting Houses in the area.

The trade act provides insight into the appearance of London Town's earliest buildings. It legislated the minimum size of structures on town lots and dictated that by the last day of August 1685, those people owning lots were required to improve them by building "one sufficient twenty foot square house . . .."[122] From this, it can be surmised that the earliest buildings in London Town were a minimum of 400 square feet. The act also stipulated that if owners did not build on lots in the required time, then they forfeited their ownership of the property and the commissioner could resell the lot for its original selling price.[123] This happened to William Brewer, whose lot was not improved in time and was resold.[124]

The most important duty of the Board was to make the colonies commercially profitable to the mother country. To this end, it was to consider what naval stores could be secured from the colonies, and how to populate them so they could furnish the raw materials which "our subjects of England are now obliged to fetch and supply themselves withal from other princes and states."[125] Also, the Board was to establish what resources the colonies already possessed, which ones could be developed, and what should be discouraged in the interest of British manufacturers.

Stipulation that the lots had to be developed within a specified period of time is important to understanding the goals and intentions of the legislators and

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[122] Archives of Maryland, 7: 613.

[123] Archives of Maryland, 7: 614.

[124] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber PK, folio 375; 1711.

the Board of Trade, who worked closely with governors and colonial legislatures to assure that the Crown would benefit from local laws. This act is a prime example of how the Board of Trade affected commerce in the colonies.

Records show that five of the 24 commissioners for Anne Arundel County (Colonel Thomas Taylor, Colonel William Burges, Major Nicholas Gassaway, Mr. Henry Ridgely, and Captain Henry Hanslape) purchased London Town lots in the summer of 1684.[126] Colonel Burges, as the original landowner, had first choice but could only purchase one lot: "and no person shall purchase more than one lot during the space and term of fourteen months."[127] This was to discourage one owner monopolizing land ownership in the town and to encourage development. If the new lot owners followed the guidelines stipulated in the act, then there should have been at least five new structures in London Town in 1684. These original lot owners were from the elite of Anne Arundel County. Of these five owners, three served in various political positions. Colonel Burges and Colonel Taylor were members of the Maryland Assembly. Captain Hanslape was the Sheriff of Anne Arundel County. These men were landowners and planters and they helped develop the tobacco trade in Anne Arundel County. Their London Town lots and or houses were probably rented out or used for commercial buildings such as warehouses.

Walking through the town at the end of the seventeenth century, one would see an orderly streetscape with 90-degree angles and equal sized lots. The buildings would be at least "twenty-foot square" and a visitor in the town easily

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[125] Dickerson, *American Colonial Government,* 24-25.

[126] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber WT2, folio 48; 1684 for H. Ridgley and Liber WT2, folio 143; 1703 for T. Taylor.

[127] Archives of Maryland, 7: 613.

could find his/her destination as each lot was marked with a numbered post or stake. The town space was meant to be both residential and commercial, with warehouses and artisans' shops. The documentation (town acts) regarding the intended development procedures for the towns helps provide a likely description of early London Town.

THE 1706 TOWN ACT

Although the 1683 act brought London Town to life, it was a 1706 act that gave it a reason for being. Entitled "An Act for Advancement of trade and erecting Ports & Towns in the Providence of Maryland," this act established London Town as an officially recognized port outlining the rights and duties of the towns.[128] Once again, to promote the advancement of trade, the General Assembly passed this act to establish ports in each of the 12 counties (two had been formed since the 1683 act). The two new counties, Prince George's (established in 1696) and Queen Anne's (established in 1706), were represented in this new legislation. In most instances, this act was merely a matter of official designation because many of these towns had previously been created by the 1683 act. The 1706 act prescribed the legalities that would affect the town and its trade. It set the physical parameters of the town relating to lots and access roads, as well as the taxes. The act encouraged immigration of tradesmen to these port settlements by exempting newcomers from taxes, or quitrents, on land.[129]

The Board of Trade played a major role in the 1706 act for establishing

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[128] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings & Acts of the General Assembly September 5, 1704 - April 19, 1706*, vol. 26, William Hand Brown, ed. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1906), 636.

ports in Maryland, but did not support all of the legislature's goals. They felt that "Ports were desired [to advance trade] but not towns."[130] However, the Maryland legislature sought to develop towns as well. The Board of Trade believed that "encouraging the growth of towns . . . might finally lead to the development of manufacturing, especially of woolens, and thus reduce the English exports of goods of that kind. By attracting people to the towns they would diminish the number engaged in the production of tobacco, lessen the total crop, and so diminish the export trade of the provinces."[131] The Board of Trade's primary goal was to ensure that each colony was making as much profit as possible and, thus, notified Maryland's Governor Seymour that: "Nothing was to be done which should in any way interfere with or retard the growth of the tobacco industry."[132] Therefore, the 1706 act was a way to regulate trade, deter manufacturing, and help ensure increased revenue for the crown by establishing and defining the limitations of these sanctioned port settlements.

London Town was named as one of these new ports. Land records indicate that over 125 families inhabited London Town during the period between 1684 and 1800. Their names and activities can be traced in the surviving records of early Anne Arundel County.[133]

Although London Town was an official port, the customs house was located in Annapolis and ships were recorded as "entered" and "cleared" from that port.

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[129] Archives of Maryland, 26: 643-644. Quit-rent: A rent, usually a small amount, paid by a freeholder . . . in lieu of services which might be required of him. (OED)

[130] Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*, 240-241.

[131] Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*, 240-241.

[132] Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*, 308-309.

The 1706 act set up the economic structure of London Town in the following section of the act:

> The Towns Ports and Places herein after mentioned shall be the Ports and Places where all Ships and Vessels trading into this Province shall unlade and put on shore all Negroes Wares goods merchandizes and Commodities whatsoever. . . In Anne Arundel County The Town and Port of Annapolis London Town on the south side of South river a Town in West river where the Town was formerly And at Herring Creek where the Town was formerly laid out And a Town to be laid out in Magothy river on the Plantation late in the Possession of Thomas Harrison On the south side of the said River.[134]

The 1706 act says nothing about tobacco or export, but the act makes clear that ships could unload at London Town. However, since it did not sanction London Town as a "reputed and appointed" port, thus, it was not a "clearing port" like Annapolis. London Town did not have its own Naval Officer; or official to oversee and record trade information, however, one was located in Annapolis. Ships may have loaded tobacco and other wares at London Town, but they would then have traveled to Annapolis for official clearance.

This act not only delineated 42 towns and ports to be either re-established or constructed in order to increase trade in the colony, but also made it illegal for any other unnamed towns or ports to participate directly in the official maritime economy, stating that: "the following Places and no others shall be and are by this Act reputed and appointed Ports."[135] The act lists only seven ports where the customhouses were located: "Annapolis in Ann Arundel County Saint Maries Town in Potomac at Chester town upon Jones Land in Chester river Green hill

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[133] Anthony Lindauer, *London Town Time Line* (Manuscript), The Lost Towns Project, 1995. This is an index of individuals related to London Town from Anne Arundel County Land Records.

[134] Archives of Maryland, 26: 636.

[135] Archives of Maryland, 26: 637.

Town in Somerset county below Daniel Hast Creek in Wiccomoco At the Town of Oxford in Great Choptank and at Beckwicks Island in Patuxent river."[136] London Town was a feeder port in that it was a loading area for local planters. Annapolis was the main port in Anne Arundel County due to its administrative role in the customs system.

London Town was designated as a port and participated in the tobacco trade economy, but because it was not an official location of regulated trade with a customhouse, it was not *intended* to be as important as Annapolis or the other official customhouse ports. London Town was a part of a wider system of regulated trade that was designed to generate and secure taxes and bolster the tobacco market. The following section specified the severe economic consequences faced by anyone breaking the trade laws:

> And Be it further Enacted by the Authority advice and Consent aforesaid that from after the first day of January seventeen hundred and seven all Masters of Ships and Vessels trading into this Province shall unlade and put on Shore all goods and merchandise in such ships and Vessels Imported to be sold here by Any merchants or goods consigned to their factors at such Town Ports and places . . . at No other places whatsoever on pain of Loosing and forfeiting all such Goods.[137]

London Town was a sanctioned area where ships laden with European goods could unload (this was the first step in the mercantile exchange). The perceived importance of the 1706 designation contributed to the myth of its 'remarkable' disappearance, thus making the slight of not being chosen as a

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[136] Archives of Maryland, 26: 637.

[137] Archives of Maryland, 26: 642.

tobacco inspection station in 1747 more believable and damning.[138] London Town, like many other ports, was established to promote trade and revenue for the Crown. Though trade was its business and the reason for its existence (via this act), it was not the location of any official exchange, documentation, or taxation. It was simply a place to assemble, store, and ready tobacco for transport to British ports.

LONDON TOWN AS TRANSPORTATION HUB: COUNTY ROADS AND FERRY CROSSINGS

Travel in the colonies could be a slow and arduous process; it was dependent on the condition of the roads, on ferryboats and, thus, on the weather. The Chesapeake region is crisscrossed with rivers and streams. Primary documents help to illustrate travel during the colonial period. In a 1765 travel journal, a French visitor described his trip traversing no less than five rivers from the border of Maryland and Virginia (the Patuxent River) to New Castle, Delaware.[139] One of these crossings was at London Town on the South River.

Just as the modern government is today, the colonial government was charged with maintaining passable transportation routes: roads, bridges, and ferry landings. In a 1734 court document, the county's justices defined the roads, for which the county paid and were responsible for maintaining. Reading like a map of the county, it is a survey of routes, landmarks, and waterways and paints a picture of these routes crisscrossed with rivers, demonstrating the importance of

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[138] See Donald Shomette, *London Town, A Brief History* (Maryland: London Town Public House Commission, 1978), and Carville Earle, *The Evolution of the Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallows Parish Maryland, 1650-1783* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975). Both authors cite the 1747 Tobacco Inspection legislation as the main reason for the decline and disappearance of London Town. However, the majority of tobacco inspection sites in Maryland were not located in preexisting towns. See chapter 1 of this work.

ferries in the county's transportation system. It also shows the importance of Annapolis and London Town in the county's geography. The road through London Town and the South River Ferry was well used. In fact, it was the only road included in the 1755 Fry and Jefferson map leading north across the South River, which was a substantial obstacle to north/south travel.[140] Nearly 20 years earlier, the county included the route in its list of county-maintained roads.

> From Annapolis over Severn River Bridge to Patapsco River *Ferry*, from Annapolis to Huntington, from Annapolis to Elk Ridge, from Annapolis round the head of South River, from Annapolis to *South River Ferry,* from Severn Bridge to Bell's Mill, from Elk Ridge Road to Indian landing, from Bell's Mill to *South River Ferry,* from *South River Ferry* to *Queen Anne Ferry*, from *South River Ferry* to the bay side road that leads to Fishing Creek, from *South River Ferry* to the road that leads though the Manor, from Severn *Ferry* to Long Bridge by the Chapel to the mountains, from Severn River *Ferry* round the head thereof, from Patapsco Falls to Rowel's, from Deep Run to *Patapsco River Ferry*, from **London Town** to *Pig Point Ferry*, from **London Town** to Lyon's Creek, from the head of Rhode River Hundred to *Queen Anne's Ferry*, from Henry Ridgley's to the landing at the head of Patapsco, from Catlin's Old Field to Carroll's Manor, from Catlin's Old Field to the Locust Thicket.[141] (Figure 3.2)

The number and importance of ferries is stressed in this record, which shows the reasoning behind the complex regulations regarding their operations (such as hours of operation, size of vessel, number of hands, rates for passage, etc). Ferries were vital to the flow of trade and persons of business throughout the county. The record also shows that in 1734 there was an established system of roads by which planters could move tobacco, produce, and other items over land to the county's ferry landing areas. Nearly every road led to a ferry or landing from which goods could be moved to and from other vessels and over the county's

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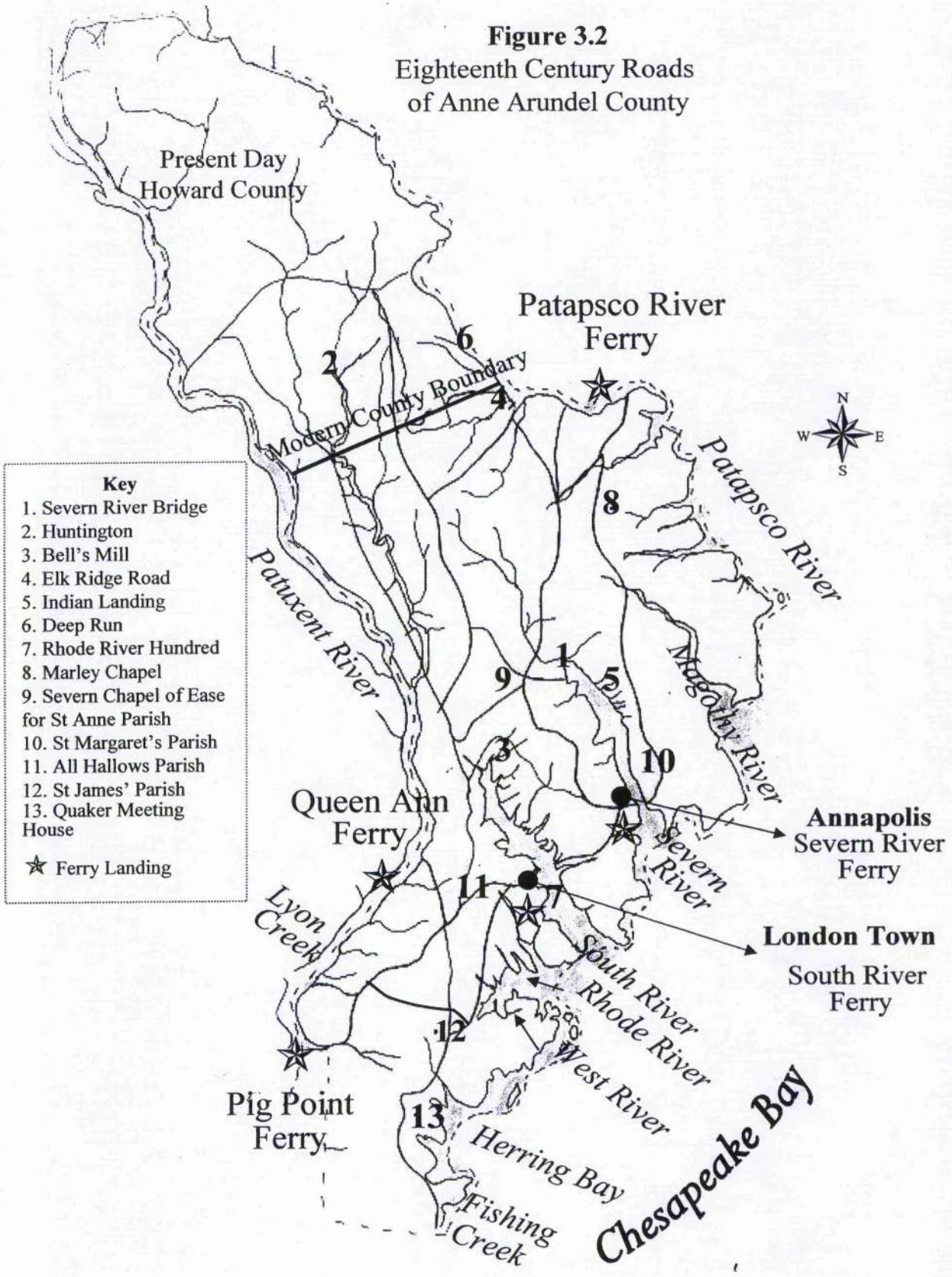
[139] Editor, "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, II," *The American Historical Review* 27 (1921): 70-76.

[140] Papenfuse and Coale, *Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608-1908,* 34.

[141] MSA, AA Co. Court Judgments, August, liber IB1, folio 78; 1734. Italics added.

Figure 3.2
Eighteenth Century Roads
of Anne Arundel County



Map by the author based on Dennis Griffith's map *1794 Map of the State of Maryland* and MSA AACo. Court Judgements Liber IB1, folio 78; 1734.

roads.

London Town was not only a port and a travel waypoint but also the location of a very important ferry crossing. This small port was a 'travel town' in that much of its early growth resulted from its ferry crossing. London Town's early taverns were established not to service a vast number of London Town residents but for the benefit of the individuals forced to travel to and through the town while using the early road and ferry systems.

As early as 1694, the county commissioners had debated the necessity of regulating the operation of ferryboats. When the colonial capital was moved from St. Mary's City in southern Maryland to Arundellton (later renamed Annapolis) in Anne Arundel County, London Town's geographic location became a key factor in the growth of the area. After 1695, most Maryland roads led to London Town and its ferry crossing. In 1694, plans for a permanent ferry system were addressed to assure that the business (public and private) of the province would not be interrupted. On February 28, 1696, the Burgesses of the Assembly declared that:

> A Publick ferry be kept upon South River in Ann Arrundell County for the Carrying over of all persons that have any business here at Provincial Courts and Assemblies to be held at Ann Arrundell Towne In the County afd: And also that a Publick Ferry be kept over Severn River in the said County for the said end and purpose during the time of Provincial Courts and holding of Assemblies, and at other times having business to do at any of the offices to be kept there; And that Capt. John Hammond and Maj. Edward Dorsey do agree with the persons concerned for the keeping of the said public ferries as cheap as they can for the whole year, and to be paid out of the Publick Levy . . . Voted that a Publick Ferry be kept upon Patuxent River in Calvert County some place about Mount Pleasant for the Carrying over of all persons that have any business to do at Provincial Courts & Assemblies to be held at Ann Arrundell Town in Ann Arrundell County during the time of Assembly's and Provincial Courts, and at other times having any Business to do at the Several Offices to be kept there; And that Mr. Thomas Tasker & Mr. George Lingan do agree with the Persons concerned for the keeping Of the said Publick ferry in Calvert County afd. for the whole year and the said Publick ferry to be settled at or near the place aforesaid Where they shall think most

fit and Convenient for the same and to be paid out of the Publick Levy.[142]

The question of whether or not the ferry costs would be paid by public levy (taxation) was debated repeatedly in the Assembly. However, the establishment of a new capital and new judicial center required reliable transportation. In March of 1695, London Town began to play a role in the migration of government officials and those using the courts. The assemblymen "voted that a public Ferry be kept upon South River in Ann Arundell County for carrying over all persons that have any business to do at provincial courts and Assemblies to beholden at Ann Arundell Towne [Annapolis] in Ann Arundell County afd."[143] Thus, London Town became a central location of ferries and ordinaries to serve the travelers heading north over the South River on their way to the court and legislative assemblies in Annapolis.

Taverns and ferryboat crossings went hand-in-hand. In eastern North Carolina, "the major ferries were at an early date attended by [ordinaries]."[144] The eastern region of North Carolina and Anne Arundel share this characteristic, as numerous rivers cross both of these areas. It is most likely that taverns, or ordinaries, and ferries were common bedfellows in other areas of the colonial tidewater. Travellers needed somewhere to take shelter, refreshment, and care for their horses. Anne Arundel County had five licensed ferry locations in the eighteenth century: South River, Severn River, Patapsco River, Magothy River, and Pig Point on the Patuxent River. (Figure 3.3) The South River Ferry in

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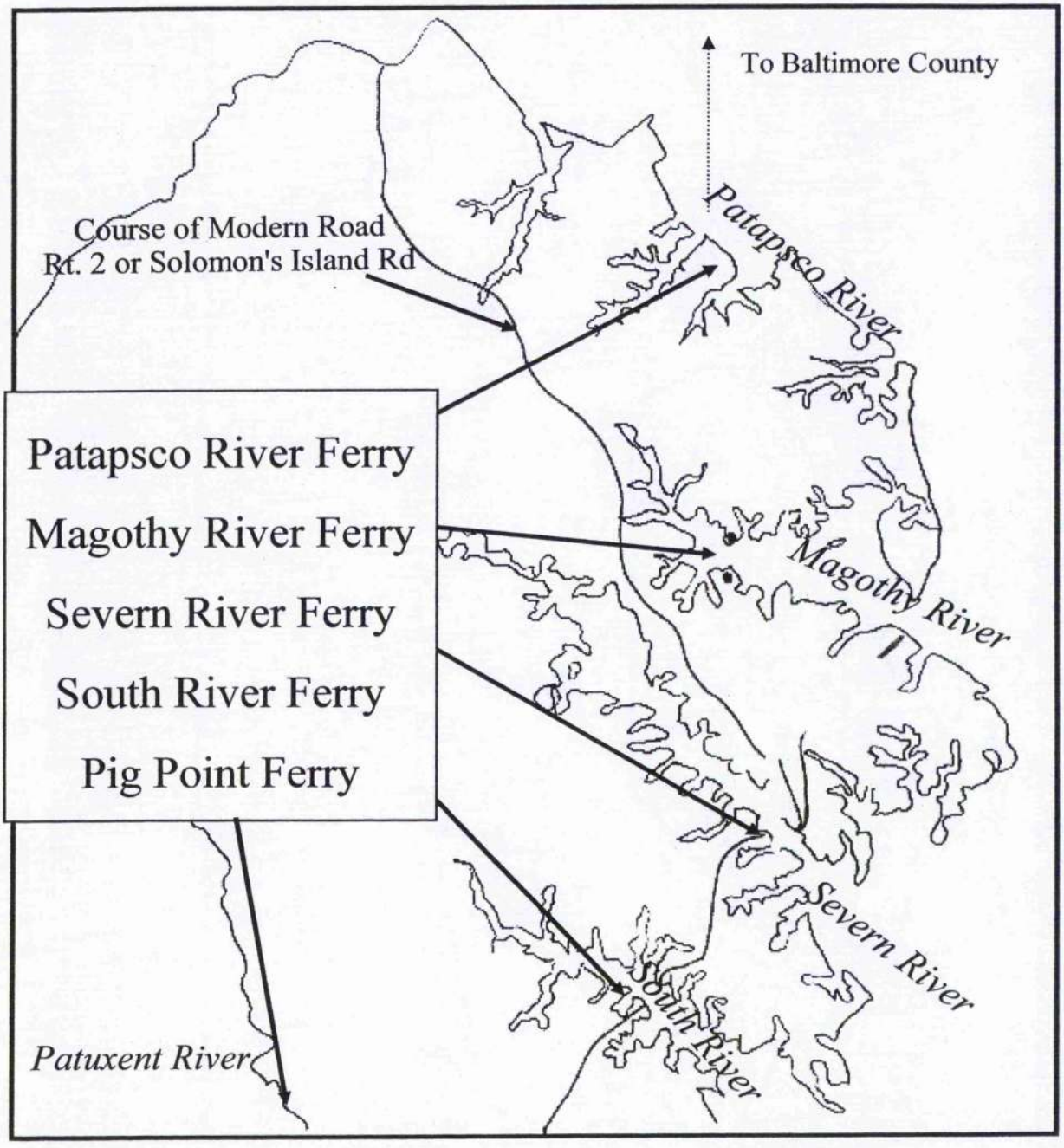
[142] Archives of Maryland, 19: 124.

[143] Archives of Maryland, 19: 133.

[144] Alan D. Watson, "Ordinaries in Colonial Eastern North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 45, no. 1 (1968): 67-83.

Figure 3.3
Anne Arundel County Ferry Crossings



London Town was put into operation first. London Town had two ferries from about 1700 until 1744; anyone traveling north or south in the county had to go through London Town. Severn River and Pig Point ferries began operation next, early in the 1700s, followed by the Patapsco and Magothy ferries in the 1730s.

In 1696, Maryland's General Assembly allowed all ferry masters on the "great" rivers (as mentioned above) to keep an ordinary without holding license, thereby stressing the close association of ferries and ordinaries.[145] Everyone else had to obtain a license if they wanted to operate an ordinary or tavern and the court required that they were renewed every year. During the period under study here, 25 individuals held both ordinary and ferry licenses in Anne Arundel County; five of these were women who took over their husband's operations.[146]

These ferry-ordinary operations proved to be long lived. In a few cases, the ferries went from father to son and husband to wife and stayed in one family for as long as three decades. There are 44 years of records for Pig Point Ferry on the Patuxent (from 1710 to 1754). From 1734 to 1754, the ferry was run by Benjamin Allen, then by his wife Mary and later by their son John. Similarly, the Hughes family operated the ferry across the Patapsco River. Thomas and Mary Hughes both appeared in court numerous times from 1734 until 1747 to obtain ferry licenses. After 1749, the Hammond and Dorsey families controlled the Patapsco River Ferry. Both family names appear in records from 1749 until 1773 and they were probably located on each side of the Patapsco River. A similar relationship existed on either side of the South River at London Town. After 1752, William Brown and Thomas and Jacob Lusby worked the ferry that led from London Town

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[145] Archives of Maryland, 19: 362.

on the south bank of South River to Ferry Point on the north bank, just a few miles south of Annapolis.[147] The Lusby family lived at *Beard's Stock* on Ferry Point (across from London Town) until the 1790s. Delia Lusby bequeathed the ferry landing property to her nephews and requested "that my one half of the ferry boat shall be sold and the profits arising there from to be applied towards paying my just debts."[148] That same ferry crossing was still used in 1838 when Jacob Slemaker noted ownership of both sides of South River Ferry in his will.[149]

As with the price and measure of alcoholic beverages served in the ordinaries, the size and capacity of ferryboats in the province was controlled by the colonial Assembly and the county courts. In 1664, legislation specific to St. Mary's and Charles Counties required that a ferry be 14 feet long to transport people and 18 feet in length for horses.[150] Eventually each county court laid down ferryboat requirements, as well as the prices to be charged for a person, carriage, or livestock. Other regulations involved who could be ferried. This included freemen or those who paid into the levy and persons exempt from the levy because of age or malady. Those who served as soldiers for at least six months could cross free for up to two years after discharge.[151] In addition, the court ruled that the ferries could not be used by servants or slaves without permission from their masters. These limitations undoubtedly were intended to hinder the flight of slaves and

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[146] Ferry and ordinary licenses for the colonial period were renewed annually and appear in the Anne Arundel County Court Judgments.

[147] Thomas was first; Jacob took over his father's operation.

[148] MSA, AA Co. Probate Wills, Delia Lusby, 1790, liber JG1, folio 179.

[149] MSA, AA Co. Probate Wills, Jacob Slemaker, 1838, liber TTS1, folio 329.

[150] Archives of Maryland, William Hand Browne ed., *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland January 1637/8 - September 1664*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Maryland historical Society, 1883), 375.

indentured or convict servants.

Ferrykeepers were required to operate their ferry as long as the weather was good, and could be fined for failing to provide service. They were exempt from military service in times of war, as they were needed to transport troops and watch for the enemy.[152] Ferrykeepers were often required to look for and report deserting solders, escaping prisoners or other illicit activities.[153]

Ferryboats in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were simple vessels and were often referred to as flats or barges.[154] Not only were they used to move people but they were also employed to move cargo from large vessels to the shore. Local artisans made these flats. One such shipwright was Edward Rumney from London Town.[155] In 1712, Edward Rumney approached the court to open an additional ferry in London Town. His competing license was granted as the court stated that Rumney "could run the ferry cheaper than any other man" presumably because, as a shipwright, he built his own boats. This is confirmed in a 1711 document that revealed Rumney mortgaged many of his possessions to cover his debts. His possessions included "one Flat [boat] twenty five foot by the Keel."[156] Rumney's mortgage also listed two tables, six leather chairs, and 12 other chairs,

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[151] Archives of Maryland, J. Hall Pleasants ed., *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1755-1756,* vol. 52 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1935), 395.

[152] Archives of Maryland, 52: 486.

[153] Archives of Maryland, J. Pleasants ed., *Journal and Correspondence of the State Council of Maryland,* vol. 47 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society), 522.

[154] For more on flats and other colonial and early American boats, see Howard Chapelle, *American Small Sailing Craft: Their Design, Development, and Construction* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1951).

[155] Primary documents noted Rumney as a "shipwright." However, it is unclear if he participated in building large "ships" such as those used in the transatlantic trade. Ferryboats are considered "boats" not "ships."

[156] MSA, AA Co. Land Records, Liber PK, folio 375; 1711 Edward Rumney to Charles Carroll.

perhaps to accommodate his waiting ferry patrons. This boat of "twenty five foot by the keel" may have been about seven or eight feet in its beam, as traditional ship building methods follow the equation: beam equals one-third the length of the keel.[157] This was to make the ship as stable as possible while still being able to handle large amounts of cargo. The "flat" style vessel did not have a cargo hold but was designed to carry heavy weight in shallow waters, similar to a barge. Thus, being flat in design the boats did not have much of a hull extending from the keel or above the waterline.

The locations of ferryboat crossings were ascertained from court records and deeds. But what did the ferry houses look like? Because each ferrykeeper was required to provide shelter for travelers, there were many ferry and tavern/ordinary combination establishments. In 1714, Anne Arundel County provided funds for the construction of a ferry house on the Severn. The court ordered that "Robert Cross build a *house* twenty five foot long and twenty foot wide on the town land at the ferry landing of Severn River with post in the ground, a partition and inside chimney, the boards to be drawn and lofted overhead."[158] This was not a very elaborate structure, but this earthfast building was a very common style in the colonial Chesapeake. Few individuals could afford to build with brick, and earthfast buildings could be erected relatively quickly. Furthermore, with the advent of licensing, investing in an expensive brick building would not be a wise venture as license renewal depended on the ferry master's performance.

Ongoing archaeological excavations at London Town by Anne Arundel County's *Lost Towns Project* have uncovered hundreds of stains in the soil which

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[157] Deane's Doctrine as found in J. Richard Steffy's, *Wooden Ship Building and Interpretation of Shipwrecks* (Texas: Texas A & M University Press, 1994), 158.

represent the 'post-in-ground' structures that once stood in the town. Documentation shows that the dimensions ordered by the court were very common for the county's earliest buildings. One example of a port side structure at London Town can be seen in an early nineteenth century painting. (Figure 3.4) Looking south from Ferry Point, the work shows the William Brown house as well as a ferryboat and buildings. The ferry house in the foreground of the painting shows a chimney on the gable-end and appears to be very similar in style to the house on the London Town side of the South River.

London Town may no longer exist as a town but, during the colonial period, the port was an important transportation center in Anne Arundel County. Its ferry crossing led to the major roads in the county and beyond. Its port received goods and people from across the county or the Atlantic, on their way to other parts of Maryland and the other colonies. Today the sound of horse drawn carts, rolling hogsheads and the splashes of row men's oars can no longer be heard but at one time they were the sounds of active commerce and trade accompanying the voices of busy travelers, bustling on and off ferries, and in and out of ordinaries.

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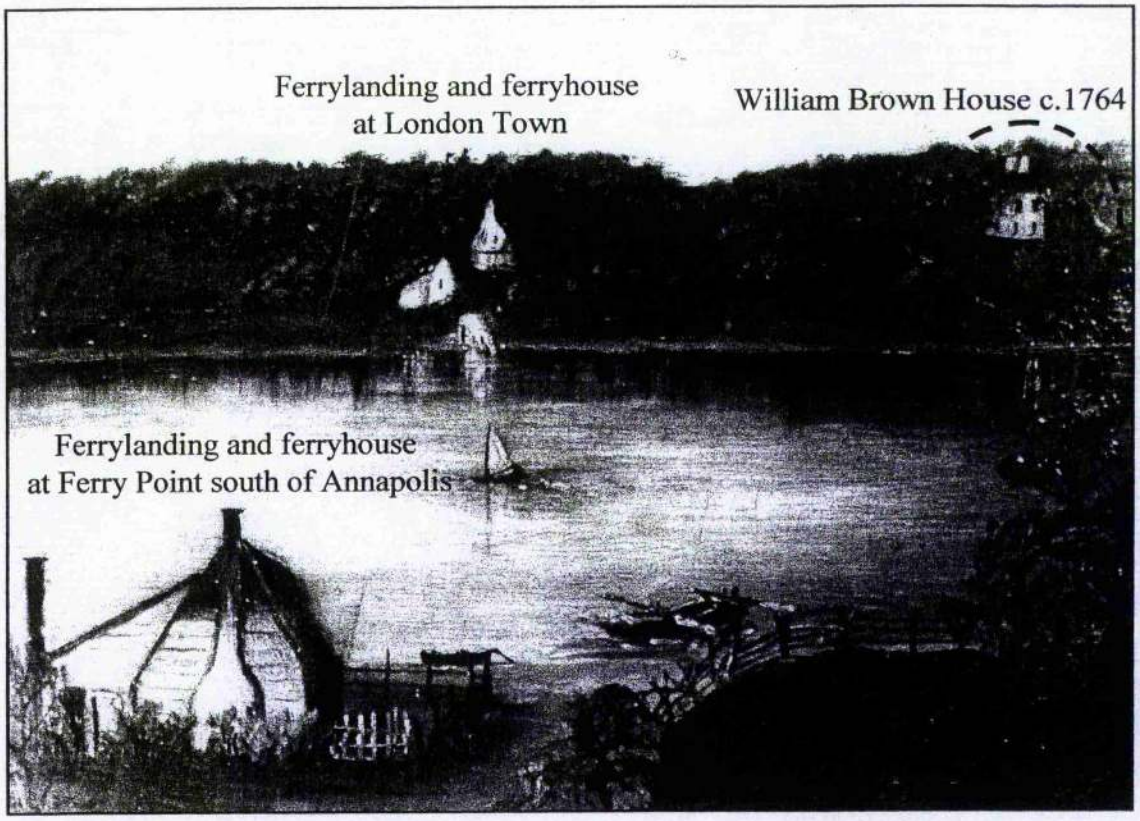
[158] MSA, AA Co. Court Judgments, March 1709, liber TB2, folio 50.

Figure 3.4
Nineteenth Century View of London Town



View from the north side of the South River, facing south toward London Town.Detail of a painting held in the private collection of Peter and Elizabeth Edmoundo of Edgewater, Maryland. The work was done by an ancestor of Mrs. Edmoundo, a "Miss Duvall." The original painting dates from the 1840s. Used with permission.

MARYLAND TOWNS ESTABLISHED BY THE TOWN ACTS: 1683 AND 1686

This thesis documents the "lost town" of London Town to show the nature, importance, and role of tobacco towns to the colonial economy. Most of these towns have not been studied in detail, many no longer exist as towns, and only a handful have endured into the twenty-first century. A small number of these towns can be found in the databases of the United States Geological Survey and the Maryland National Register of Historic Properties.[159] Similarly, some can be located using geographic information from the 1683-84 and 1686 town acts (such as the names of adjacent bodies of water.)[160] A few of the "lost town" sites have been documented by archaeologists and are recorded in the files of the Maryland Historical Trust, Office of Archaeology.[161] Many towns cannot be located at all because the names of the geographic features, such as the names of creeks, rivers, and bays, or the names of other landmarks have changed. This section outlines the other tobacco towns established by the 1686 town act that brought London Town to life.[162]

Throughout the colonial period, the Maryland Assembly worked intermittently to establish towns and regulate trade throughout the colony. They proposed legislation suggesting 60 different towns sites and "such an attempt at

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[159] The USGS (or United States Geological Survey) is a service of the United States Department of the Interior. The National Register of Historic Places is the recorder of historic sites and buildings and is part of the United States National Park Service. See http://www.usgs.gov.

[160] This act of 1683 cited 30 towns, a 1684 amendment to that act proposed 12 additional towns. However, the 1686 act list 35 town names, there locations being established in the 1683-84 town acts. See Archives of Maryland, 7:609-610, 13:111-113, and 5:502-503.

[161] The Maryland Historical Trust is part of the State of Maryland's Department of Housing and Community Development and is located in Crownsville, Maryland. They archive all the site reports for archaeological sites in Maryland.

[162] The Maryland Assembly passed many pieces of legislation in an attempt to establish towns. For a detailed study of all the legislation, see John W. Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland,* (Williamsburg, Virginia: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972).

instant urbanization was bound to fail."[163] Many of these settlements did fail and cannot be located, however, this work will show that they were indeed important to the development of colonial Maryland and operated within the system for which they were designed: the mercantile system of the British Empire.

The 1683-84 legislative session presented the most ambitious of the "town acts."[164] It outlined the geographic locations, the towns had yet to be named, for 42 town sites in ten counties. The Assembly refined the list, in 1686, settling on only 35 towns for the ten counties, assigning names to each town.[165] Some of the proposed town sites were abandoned or changed. (Chart 3.1) This particular piece of the town act legislation is very important because it attaches names (for the majority of sites) to the proposed locations. These names can be studied and in some cases, the locations of the unknown "lost towns" can be established.

Only a few of the 35 towns noted in the 1686 act have endured with the same name up to the present. Lost colonial settlements such as St. Mary's City, London Town, Herring Creek Town, Mt. Calvert, and Baltemore Town (the first location, and original spelling) have been studied historically and archaeologically but no longer exist as active settlements. (Figure 3.5) Others can be located but their names and circumstances have changed, many can only be described as loose geographic areas with dispersed rural housing. Their colonial history is unknown or undocumented. Many have disappeared however, the ones that have survived were originally the location of county government during the colonial period and

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[163] Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 98.

[164] The original "town act" or Act for the Advancement of Trade was passed in 1683. A supplement act was presented in 1684 which increased the number of towns. See Archives of Maryland, 7:609-611 and 13:111-114. For purposed of clarity and inclusion they are referred to as the "1683-84 town acts."

[165] Archives of Maryland, 5: 502-503.

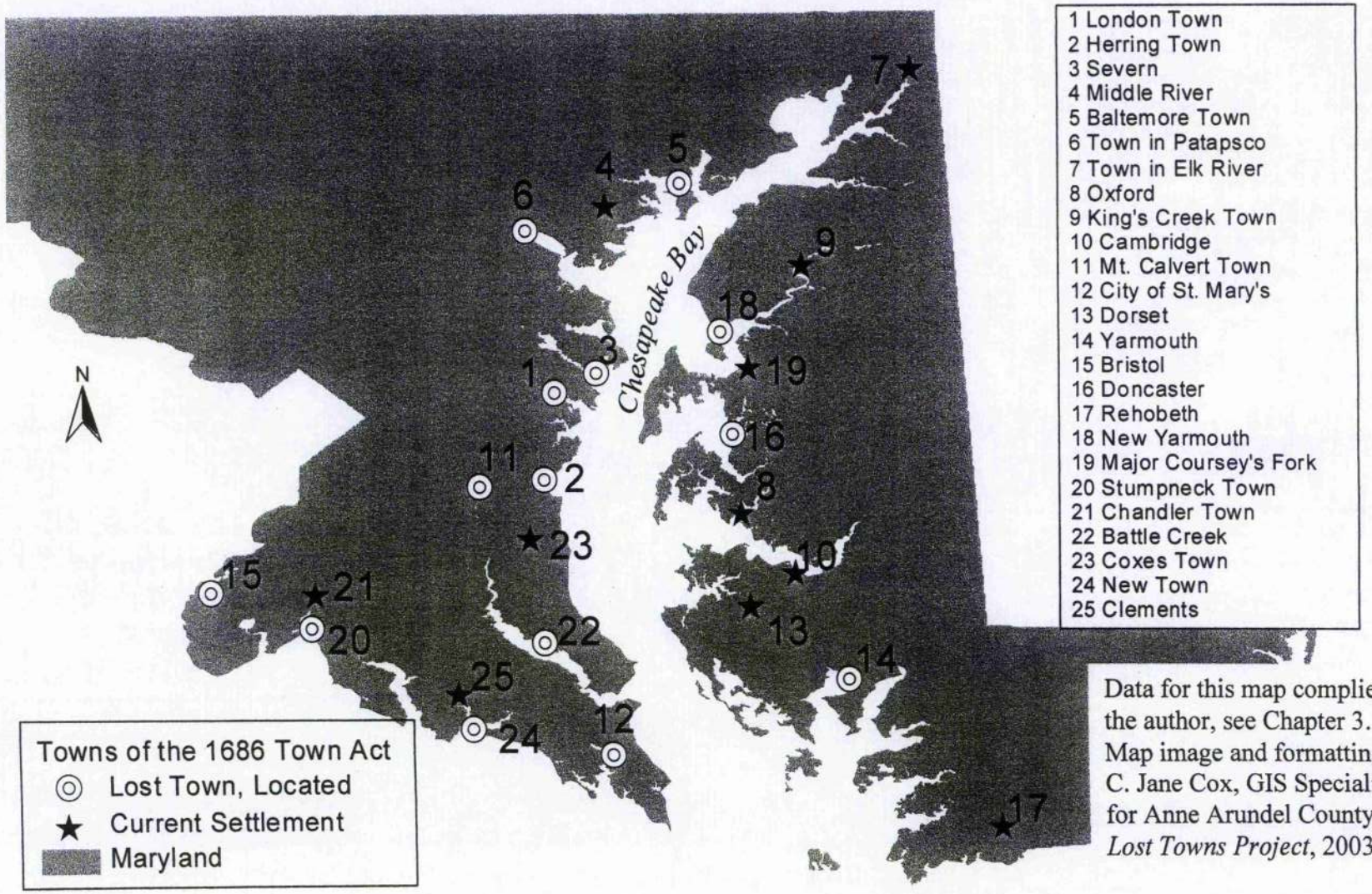
Chart 3.1
Maryland Towns Named in the 1686 Town Act

St. Mary's	Kent	Anne Arundel	Calvert	Charles	Baltimore	Talbot	Somerset	Dorchester	Cecil
City of St. Mary's	New Yarmouth	Severn	Battle Creek	Bristol	Baltemore Town	Oxford	Rehoboth	Cambridge	Town in Elk River (Elkton)
New Port	Canterbury	London	Leonard's Creek	Chandler Town (Port Tobacco)	Middle River	King's Creek Town		Dorsett (Church Creek)	Town of Wm. Frisbey's Plantation
New Town		Herring Creek	Bogues Bay	Wharton Town	Town in Patapsco	Major Coursey's Fork (Queenstown)		Yarmouth	Town on John West Plantation
Clements			Coxes Town (Lower Marlboro)	Charles Town		Doncaster			Town in Worton
Baltemore Town			Mt. Calvert Town	Stumpneck Town (Chicamuxen)					

Source: MSA, Archives of Maryland, 5:502-503. Modern town name is in parentheses.

Figure 3.5

The Location of Towns from the 1686 Town Act



Data for this map complied by the author, see Chapter 3. Map image and formatting by C. Jane Cox, GIS Specialist for Anne Arundel County's, *Lost Towns Project*, 2003.

have continued to serve as administrative centers today.

St. Mary's County

The 1686 act listed five towns in St. Mary's County: New Port, Baltemore Town, Clements, New Town, and St. Mary's City. New Port and Baltemore Town can be unidentified: they are two of Maryland's lost towns.[166] However, Baltemore Town may be the town listed in the 1683 act as, "at the Indian Towne at Choptico his Lordships manor."[167] Choptico is likely Chaptico Bay (part of the Wicomico River), and the town may have been called Batlemore because it was on "his Lordships manor." The town of Chaptico now sits at the head of Chaptico Bay, northeast of Indiantown, Maryland and is noted by the USGS as being founded in 1683.[168] However, there is no concrete way to link Baltemore Town and Chaptico.

The town of Clements (also known as St. Clements's Town) is located at the head of St. Clements's Bay: its population numbered 75 in 1940.[169] It is a very small village today.

New Town is listed as a "historical populated place" by the USGS.[170] The surrounding area was part of Newtown Hundred (an administrative subdivision for

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[166] This is the spelling used in the primary document.

[167] Archives of Maryland, 7:609.

[168] See USGS-GNIS database for "Chaptico, St. Mary's County, Maryland."

[169] State of Maryland, *Gazetteer of Maryland, 1940,* 45.

[170] United States Geological Survey or USGS has an online database as part of their National Mapping Section known as USGS-GNIS (Geographic Names Information System). This site is key word searchable and provides information on places (the latitude and longitude), their population in 2000 (based on US Census records), and physical features such as bodies of water and mountains. It can be accessed at http://geonames.usgs.gov. See USGS-GNIS database for "New Town, St. Mary's County."

a county) and during the 1670s the county court met at New Town.[171] It is located on New Town Neck between Saint Clements Bay and Breton Bay off the Potomac River. The town is gone but there is a National Register historic church and house on New Town Neck.[172] During World War II, the Unites States Defense Department occupied the tip of New Town Neck for a testing facility.[173] New Town one of Maryland's lost towns.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, St Mary's City in St Mary's County served as both the first capital of colonial Maryland (1637-1694) and the county seat. The town was mentioned in the 1686 town act to document its official port status. However, when the colonial capital moved to Annapolis in Anne Arundel County in 1694, St. Mary's City began to disappear. The county seat was subsequently moved from St. Mary's City to Seymour Town in 1708 (later known as Leonardtown) St. Mary's City faced a fate not unlike London Town, although they were established under different circumstances and played very different roles. Maryland's first capital has been the subject of historical study and archaeological excavation since 1971.[174] (See Chapter 9 for a comparison of archaeological data.)

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[171] Regina Combs Hammett, *History of St. Mary's County, Maryland* (Maryland: Regina Combs Hammett, 1977), 47.

[172] St. Francis Xavier Church and Newtown Manor House are part of a historic district. See the files of the Maryland Historical Trust, Register of History Places-Maryland. Inventory No.: SM-57, SM-58; SM-59 and SM-383.

[173] Robert E. T. Pogue, *Yesterday in Old St. Mary's County*, (Bushwood, Maryland: Robert E. T. Pouge, 1975), 309-310.

[174] See Edward C. Papenfuse, *Doing Good to Posterity: The Move of the Capital of Maryland from St. Mary's City to Ann Arundell Towne, now called Annapolis.* (Crownsville, Maryland: Maryland Historical Trust, 1995). Regina Combs Hammett, History *of St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1634-1990,* (Ridge, Maryland: R.C. Hammett, 1991). Silas D Hurry. *"Once the Metropolis of Maryland": The History and Archaeology of Maryland's First Capital.* (St. Mary's City, Maryland: Historic St. Mary's City Commission, 2001).

Kent County

The 1686 act established two towns in Kent County, New Yarmouth, and Canterbury. The United States Geological Survey cites the town of New Yarmouth as a "populated place" but the location cannot be found on modern maps.[175] The latitude and longitude provided by the USGS places it on Gray's Inn Creek just south of Rock Hall, Maryland. Records suggest that it was an early center of government in Kent County and the location of the county's first courthouse.[176] New Yarmouth was also known for shipbuilding and there is a small inlet called Joiners Cove on the western shore of Gray's Inn Creek.[177] A preliminary archaeological survey was conducted in the area, at the southern tip of the peninsula called Eastern Neck situated on the eastern bank of Gray's Inn Creek, looking for the New Yarmouth Church site (18KE291) in 1982 and 1984.[178] It is an inundated site consisting of stones and bricks, suggesting a building foundation. The site is thought to be the location of St. Luke's Church, (c. 1653) now lost to erosion.[179] There is no town. New Yarmouth is a lost town.

The town of Canterbury is a mystery and cannot be located using the USGS database nor is it documented as a town or village in the 1940 *Gazetteer of Maryland*.[180] Presumably, it is the town noted as "at Shipping alias Coxes

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[175] See USGS-GNIS database for "New Yarmouth, Kent County, Maryland"

[176] Michael Owen Bourne, *Historic Houses of Kent County* (Chestertown, Maryland: The Historical Society of Kent County, 1998), 25, 50.

[177] Bourne, *Kent County*, 50.

[178] Maryland Historical Trust, Maryland Archaeological Site Survey, Site Report 18KE291.

[179] Maryland Historical Trust, Maryland Archaeological Site Survey, Site Report 18KE291.

[180] State of Maryland, *Gazetteer of Maryland, 1940* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941). Also, see Archives of Maryland, Volume 478.

Creek."[181] Shipping Creek is on the eastern side of a peninsula that divides it from Coxes Creek on Kent Island, now located in Queen's Anne County (established 1706). There is no town on that peninsula, which is now called Batts Neck.[182]

Anne Arundel County

The three towns established for Anne Arundel County, Severn (near present day city of Annapolis), London (the London Town discussed herein) and Herring Creek Town (or Herrington) have all been studied and documented by Anne Arundel County's *Lost Towns Project* (see previous chapter).

Calvert County

Calvert County was assigned five towns according to the 1686 act: Battle Creek, Leonard's Creek, Bogues Bay, Coxes Town, and Mt. Calvert Town. The town on Battle Creek or Battle Town (also know as Calvertown) is listed as "historical" by the USGS and is no longer a town.[183] Two towns, Leonard's Creek and Bogue's Bay, are allusive. Coxes Town, now known as Lower Marlboro, is located on the eastern bank of the Patuxent River and is a small village.[184]

More is known about Mount Calvert, which started out as a county seat for Calvert County but ended as a forgotten tobacco town in Prince George's County. Mount Calvert Town was located on the Patuxent River (now in Prince George's

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[181] Archives of Maryland, 7:609-610.

[182] ADC, *Maryland/Delaware*, 41.

[183] Charles Francis Stein, *A History of Calvert County, Maryland* (Baltimore: The Calvert County Historical Society, 1960), 19, 64.

[184] See USGS-GNIS database for "Coxes Town, Calvert County, Maryland."

County). It was very similar to London Town in that it was a tobacco port and also served as a ferry crossing (at Pig Point): it also disappeared. Historical and archaeological research conducted by the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC) beginning in 1997 has uncovered the location of the town and compiled information on the material culture of the site.[185]

Mount Calvert was also similar to London Town in that the town's early landowners had an interest in developing the town. The most prominent men involved in early Mount Calvert were Ninian Beal and Henry Darnell.[186] Darnell was a Maryland legislator involved in creating the *Act for the Advancement of Trade* and he owned one lot in the town. Ninian Beal, not unlike William Burgess for London Town, was a county land commissioner involved in overseeing the town's development. A series of courthouse fires burned many of the early land records concerning Mount Calvert so a detailed chain of title is difficult to piece together.[187] However, surviving records do show that merchants and mariners owned property in the town, likely for the tobacco trade. Also like London Town, Mount Calvert was home to ordinaries serving travellers and mariners.[188]

Mount Calvert was home to one of the earliest administrative centers in Maryland as the first seat of Calvert County.[189] However, when Prince George's County was cut from Calvert County in 1696 one of the first orders of business was to change the name of the town from Mount Calvert to Charles Town,

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[185] Michael T. Lucas, Donald K. Creveling and Jennifer Falkinburg, *"Att Pig Pointe Upon Mount Colverte": A Phase I Archaeological Survey of Mount Calvert (18PG6),* (M-NCPPC, Department of Parks and Recreation, Natural Historical Resources Division, 1999), i.

[186] Lucas et al., *Mount Calvert*, 23-25.

[187] Lucas et al., *Mount Calvert*, 22.

[188] Lucas et al., *Mount Calvert*, 29.

[189] Lucas et al., *Mount Calvert*, 25.

although it remained the county seat of the new county until 1721.[190]

Mount Calvert was home to a courthouse, jail, and an Anglican Church. The jail was 10 by 20 feet and constructed in 1710.[191] The courthouse was a frame structure of 35 by 22 feet with two doors and folding shutters.[192] Although their appearance and construction were well documented, their locations in the town are unknown. Further archaeological excavations are planned to locate these structures.[193]

Mount Calvert, later Charles Town, faced decline when the county seat was moved to Upper Marlboro in 1721. Evidence suggests that the Pig Point Ferry at Mount Calvert operated until the 1740s. However, the growth of nearby Queen Anne Town and Nottingham provided other options for passage into Anne Arundel County and Mount Calvert began to slip into a pattern of land consolidation that reassigned most of the town into a private plantation by 1774.[194] As outlined above, Mount Calvert experienced a similar time-line of development, prosperity, and decline as its neighbor London Town. However, there has been no systematic study of the records for Mount Calvert; therefore, it can only be compared to London Town in the most cursory of ways.

Charles County

The 1686 act established five towns in Charles County: Bristol, Chandler

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[190] Lucas et al., *Mount Calvert*, 26.

[191] Lucas et al., *Mount Calvert*, 30.

[192] Lucas et al., *Mount Calvert*, 30.

[193] Donald K. Creveling, Archaeological Program Manager for M-NCPPC (personal communication), May 29, 2003.

[194] Lucas et al., *Mount Calvert*, 33.

Town, Wharton Town, Charles Town, and Stumpneck Town. Bristol is listed by the USGS as a "historical populated place": it is no longer a town. The town site was located on the east side of Port Tobacco River (near the mouth), off Deep Point and just north of Chapel Point. The site is now contained within the Chapel Point State Park which is operated by the Maryland Department of Natural Resources.[195]

Just up the river from the Bristol is the site of Chandler Town. However, its name has changed twice. The first time was in 1729 when the Maryland Assembly changed the name to Charles Town. In 1821, the settlement became known as Port Tobacco and remains so today.[196] Much like the other colonial period towns that have survived into the modern era, Chandler/Charles/Port Tobacco was the site of the county court and jail.[197] However, the county seat was moved from Port Tobacco to La Plata in 1895 after a fire that destroyed the old courthouse.[198] This led to the decline of Port Tobacco which has receded into a historic village dependent on tourism and much of the colonial period settlement is contained in the Port Tobacco Historic District.[199] Very few people have lived in Port Tobacco during the twentieth century: only 122 in 1940 and 15 in 2000.[200] It has all but disappeared.

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[195] Alexandria Drafting Company (ADC), *Maryland/Delaware, State Road Atlas.* (Alexandria, Virginia: 2000), 24.

[196] Morris L. Radoff, *The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland. Part One: The Courthouses.* (Annapolis: The Hall of Records Commission, 1960), 69-71. Also, see Archives of Maryland, Volume 545.

[197] Radoff, *County Courthouses,* 69.

[198] Radoff, *County Courthouses,* 71.

[199] From the National Register Listing in Maryland found in the files of the Maryland Historical Trust, Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development in Crownsville, Maryland. See Maryland's National Register Properties: *Port Tobacco Historic District,* CH-372.

[200] State of Maryland, *Gazetteer of Maryland, 1940,* 167. Also see USGS-GNIS database for census data "Port Tobacco, Charles County, Maryland."

Wharton Town is not listed in the USGS database nor does it appear on modern maps. However, it could be the town "at the mouth of Nanjemy Creek (Nanjemoy) at or near Lewisse's Neck" listed in the 1684 supplement to the 1683 Act for the Advancement of Trade.[201] It is the only location unaccounted for from the 1683-84 lists of towns for Charles County. Nanjemoy Creek, a tributary to the Potomac River, is located at the southern tip of Charles County, with a peninsula on its eastern bank called Cedar Point. Perhaps this is "Lewisse's Neck." Now the area is contained within the Blossom Point Proving Ground part of the Unites States Navy Research Laboratory complex.[202]

Locating the town of Stumpneck required deduction. The 1686 town act does not specify its location however, the 1683-84 town acts that lists the locations (but not the names) of the town sites, notes a town location as "on Stumpneck near Chimyemuxen ... near Humphreys Creek."[203] Both Chimyemuxen (or the modern spelling, Chicamuxen) and Stump Neck are located on the Potomac River very near one another. Chicamuxen Creek is on the south side of Stump Neck peninsula. Presumably, the Chingomuxen settlement and the town of Stump Neck are one and the same. In 1940, the village of Chicamuxen was noted as being located two miles north of Doncaster with a population of 25.[204] Currently the site is contained in a protected area. Chicamuxen is part of a Wildlife Management Area (WMA) administered by the Maryland Department of Nature Resources. Also, most of the Stump Neck peninsula is contained within the United States

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[201] Archives of Maryland, 13:111-113.

[202] ADC, *Maryland/Delaware,* 24.

[203] Archives of Maryland, 7:609-610.

[204] State of Maryland, *Gazetteer of Maryland, 1940,* 45.

Naval Surface Warfare Center, Stump Neck Annex.[205]

The site of Charles Town is a mystery. As noted earlier, Chandler Town, later Port Tobacco, was also called Charles Town for nearly 100 years beginning in the 1720s. Perhaps its original site was abandoned and the name was reused. All told, five tobacco towns were established in Charles County between 1683 and 1686 and only one can be located today.

Baltimore County

Baltimore County was awarded three towns in the 1686 town act: Baltemore Town, a town at "Middle River" and a "town in Patapsco."[206] The first Baltemore Town (original spelling) was the site of the first courthouse and county seat as early as 1674.[207] It was located on the Bush River, a tributary of the Chesapeake Bay, and was approximately 25 miles northeast of the current site of the city of Baltimore. However, the county seat was moved to Joppa in 1721 and again south to Baltimore City in June, 1768.[208] The northern section of Baltimore County that contained Joppa and the first Baltemore Town became part of Harford County in 1773. The original Baltemore Town site, known as "Old Baltimore" was abandoned and is now contained within the United States Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground.[209]

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[205] ADC, *Maryland/Delaware,* 19.

[206] Archives of Maryland 5: 502-503.

[207] Radoff, *County Courthouses,* 17.

[208] Radoff, *County Courthouses,* 21 and 25.

[209] The site is known as "Old Baltimore" and was most recently studied by David Blick in 1998. See David G. Blick, "Aberdeen Proving Ground Uncovers 17th Century Settlement of Old Baltimore." *CRM* 1999, 22(5):42-44. Also, see Maryland Historical Trust, Maryland Archaeological Site Survey, Site Report 18HA30.

The Middle River is a tributary of the Chesapeake Bay but the location of the 1686 town, of the same name, is unclear. The colonial Middle River area consisted of a peninsula with Back River to the south and Middle River to the north with some settlement on the north side of Middle River.[210] The 1683-84 town act located the settlement "At Middle River on the land of Cornwallis or Leakin's or both at the discretion of the Commissioners." Captain Thomas Cornwallis patented property in the area in 1658 just south of Hopkins Creek.[211] This is in the same vicinity of the modern town of Middle River near Essex, Maryland. The population for this village numbered 161 people in 1940.[212] It has grown into a suburb of Baltimore City with a population of 23,958 in 2000.[213] Perhaps the colonial site and the modern site are the same but it is unknown if the modern town is located on or near the 1686 town site.

The "town in Patapsco" is noted as being near "Humphrey's Creek" in the 1683-84 town acts. However, the location of Humphrey Creek cannot be identified. Additional help on the location of the town comes from the 1706 town act that provides "At Whetstone Neck in Patapsco River" for the site of the town.[214] Whetstone Point, a modern derivation, is located on the northern bank of the Middle Branch of the Patapsco River near the Inner Harbor of Baltimore: it is very near the Fort McHenry peninsula. However, "as trade increased on the

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[210] Neal A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County* (Towson, Maryland: Friends of the Towson Library, 1979), 4-7.

[211] Brooks and Rockel, *Baltimore County*, 7.

[212] State of Maryland, *Gazetteer of Maryland, 1940,* 136.

[213] See USGS-GNIS database for census data "Middle River, Baltimore County, Maryland."

[214] Archives of Maryland, 26: 637.

Patapsco, the head of the tide seemed to be preferable as the site for a town ...."[215] The city of Baltimore was established in 1730 on the north side of the Patapsco abandoning the Whetstone site for the area of new development.[216] The site at Whetstone Neck in now the property of the South Locust Point Marine Terminal located on the west side of Baltimore City's harbour complex.

Talbot County

The 1686 town act lists four towns for Talbot County on the Eastern Shore of Maryland: Oxford, King's Creek Town, Major Coursey's Fork, and Doncaster. Oxford, originally called Williamstadt, is located on the Tred Avon River, and was an official customs port during the colonial period, home to many merchants and mariners.[217] It flourished with waterborne trade during the colonial period but was abandoned during the nineteenth century for towns closer to railroad stops. Today it is a waterman's town, famous for its crabs and historic charm with a tourism based economy. Oxford is a sleepy place, crossed with creeks, rivers, and small bays. It did not grow during the twentieth century: it population was 826 in 1940 and only 771 in 2000.[218]

King's Creek Town is no longer an active port but a waterside village in southern Talbot County. Today known as Kingston Landing (also noted as King's Town by the USGS) it is located many miles up the Choptank River, adjacent to

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[215] Richard J. Matchett, *Baltimore Director for 1835-84*. (Baltimore: Richard J. Matchett, 1853), 6. Also, see Archives of Maryland, volume 564.

[216] Matchett, *Baltimore Director for 1835-84*, 6.

[217] Dickson J. Preston, *Talbot County: A History* (Centreville, Maryland: 1983), 52-54.

[218] State of Maryland, *Gazetteer of Maryland, 1940*, 155. Also see USGS-GNIS database for census data "Oxford."

Kingston Landing Road and King's Creek. Portions of the colonial period site, consisting of wharf ruins and material culture remains from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were documented by the Maryland Historic Trust in 1994.[219] In 1940 King's Creek was noted as a village 2 ½ miles southwest of Matthews, Maryland.[220] As it was located far up river, King's Creek Town would have served those planters living inland and away from the Chesapeake Bay.

The town at Major Coursey's Fork (also now known as Coursey's Point) is located on the Chester River at the mouth of Queenstown Creek in Queen Anne's County which was apportioned from part of Talbot County in 1706. The town site is now contained within Queenstown, established in 1707. It was the seat of Queen Anne's County from 1707 until 1782 when it was moved to Centerville.[221] As with many of the other tobacco towns, Queenstown is now a small village known for historic houses, shopping, and a golf course.

Doncaster is recorded as a "historical populated place" by the USGS. It was also known as Wye Town and had a very brief existence.[222] This lost town is located near the mouth of the Wye River on a small spit of land called Bruff's Island, near Eastern Bay: it is no longer a settlement. The Doncaster Historic Town site was placed on the National Register in 1975 but no historic structures remain.[223]

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[219] Maryland Historic Trust, Maryland Archaeological Site Survey, Site Report, 18TA302.

[220] State of Maryland, *Gazetteer of Maryland, 1940,* 113.

[221] Radoff, *County Courthouses,* 125-127.

[222] Preston, *Talbot County*, 56.

[223] Maryland Historical Trust, Maryland Archeological Site Survey, Site Report, 18TA30. Also, see National register Listings in Maryland, Doncaster Town Site (Wyetown), 1975.

Somerset County

Settlements in Somerset County date from the mid-seventeenth century. The 1683-84 town acts lists nine locations for settlement in the county. However, in the 1686 act that named the towns, only one is noted, Rehoboth. The town was also known as Pocomoke Town as it is located on the Pocomoke River (not to be confused with the nearby Pocomoke City). There is an early Presbyterian Church in Rehobeth that dates from c.1706.[224] Records suggest that an early church was located on or near the same site.[225] In 1940, Rehoboth had a population of 56.[226] It is adjacent to the Pocomoke State Forest and Park.[227] Apparently, this area of the Pocomoke River has experience extensive silting, as the river is very narrow at Rehoboth and there is a cypress swamp north and south of the town: a likely cause of the town's demise.

Very few of the other town locations listed in the 1683 town act can be placed in Somerset County. The site noted as "The south side of the Wicocomcoc River above Mannokin River" may be on Deal Island which is now the Deal Island Wildlife Management Area.[228] Most of the town locations were associated with private property in 1683 and the names for the locations have not endured. For example, citations such as,

> in Wiccocomico River on the South side on the Land next above the Land of the Orphants of Charles Bollard & on the Land on the North side of Windford Creeke, (vizt) Smiths & Glannills Land & on Horseys Land in

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[224] From the National Register Listing in Maryland found in the files of the Maryland Historical Trust, Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development in Crownsville, Maryland. See Maryland's National Register Properties: *Rehobeth Presbyterian Church*, S-71.

[225] Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1973), 169.

[226] State of Maryland, *Gazetteer of Maryland, 1940,* 174

[227] ADC, *Maryland/Delaware*, 47.

[228] The modern spellings are Wicomico and Manokin.

> Annimessex & on Morgans Land formerly called Barrowes towards the head of Pokamoake, & on the Land betweene Mr Jenkins Plantacon & Mr Howards Plantacon on the North side Pokamoake[229]

are vague and unspecific descriptions that would require further research not within the scope of this study.

Dorchester County

Both the 1683-84 and the 1686 town acts list three towns for Dorchester County: Cambridge, Dorsett, and Yarmouth. Cambridge is today, as it was during the colonial period, the seat of government for Dorchester County.[230] It is located in northern tip of the county on the Choptank River and is one of the largest towns on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The population of Cambridge numbered 10,102 in 1940 and 10,911 in 2000.[231]

The town of Dorsett, now called Church Creek, is located off the Little Choptank River on Church Creek (which feeds from Fishing Creek). It is a small village with a population of 405 in 1940 that shrunk to only 85 in 2000.[232] It was known for shipbuilding during the colonial period.

Yarmouth is one of Maryland's lost towns: it was abandoned during the colonial period.[233] In 1683-84, it was cited as on "the west side of the northwest

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[229] Archives of Maryland, 7:610. The spelling and syntax are from the primary document.

[230] Elias Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County, Maryland* (Baltimore: The Read-Taylor Press, 1925), 57-59.

[231] State of Maryland, *Gazetteer of Maryland, 1940*, 43. Also, see USGS-GNIS database for census data "Church Creek."

[232] State of Maryland, *Gazetteer of Maryland, 1940*, 33. Also see USGS-GNIS database for census data "Cambridge."

[233] Jones, *Dorchester County*, 58.

branch of the Transquaking River."[234] Today the Transquaking River is contained within the Fishing Bay Wildlife Management Area in southeastern Dorchester County. However, there is a historic property called Yarmouth (also known as White House Farm) on Bestpitch Ferry Road which runs along the northern boundary of the Fishing Bay Wildlife Management Area. The house there dates to the second quarter of the eighteenth century and is likely connected to this lost town.[235]

Cecil County

Cecil County is in the northeastern corner of Maryland, bordering both Pennsylvania and Delaware, at the head of the Chesapeake Bay. The 1686 act list four town sites for Cecil County: Town in Elk River, Town on Wm. Frisbey's Plantation, Town on John West Plantation, and Town in Worton.[236] Only one of these, the town in Elk River, Elkton, is easy to locate. Today Elkton is the county seat. In 1940, its population numbered 3,518 but it has flourished in the twentieth century and grew to a population of 11,893 in 2000.[237] The three other towns cannot be located.

Much like London Town, many of the early plans for these towns are missing, making comparison of size, level of development, and layout difficult to study. In order to measure rate of development, economic vitality and the social

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[234] Archives of Maryland, 7:609-611 and 13:111-114.

[235] Maryland Historical Trust, National Register Listing in Maryland, *Yarmouth*, D-83.

[236] Archives of Maryland, 5:502-503.

[237] State of Maryland, *Gazetteer of Maryland, 1940*, 42. Also see USGS-GNIS database for census data "Elkton."

dynamics for each town, a number of the colonial period settlements would have to be studied in a systematic way to produce data for comparison. This study of London Town provides a model for the type of data required to document and study each town's role in the local and colonial economy.

Historical research has shown that very few of London Town's contemporaries saw any sustained development and less than half can be located today. Fourteen of the 35 towns named in the 1686 town act are "lost towns" that can be located or have been studied in some way but are no longer settlements. Of those 14, only three (London Town, Herring Creek Town and Mt. Calvert) have been researched in any detail and this thesis is the most comprehensive study to date. "Many of the towns created under these legislative acts have disappeared altogether."[238] Ten of the 35 town sites fall into that category. Eleven of the original towns survive as settlements on or very near their 1686 establishment sites. (See Figure 3.5) Many of the towns that did flourish during the colonial period and exist today were at one time, the location of the county seat or similar authority but this did not always guarantee longevity. Most of these legislated tobacco towns faced the same fate as London Town and are waiting to be rediscovered and studied.

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[238] Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 103.

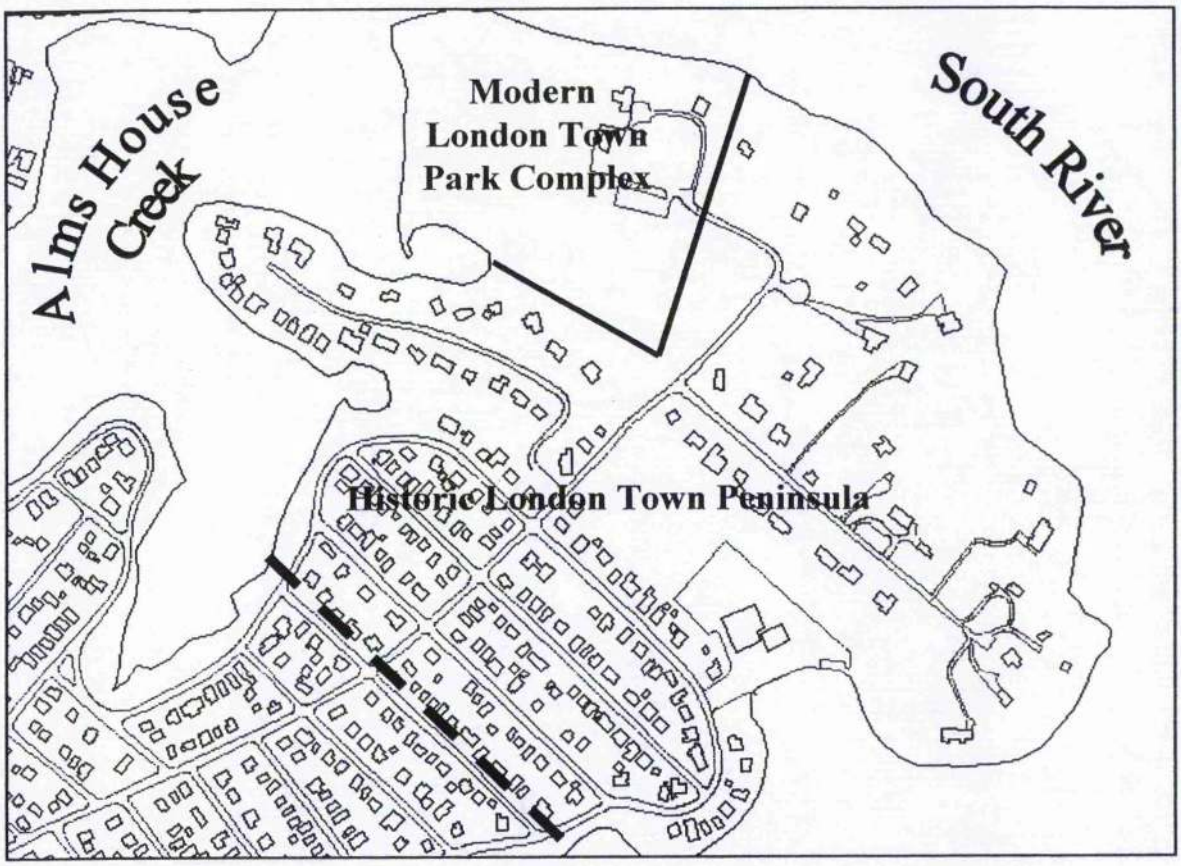
Chapter 4: London Town: Later Development and Occupation

London Town remains on modern maps but is no longer the commercial community that thrived in the colonial period. Established as a tobacco port in the seventeenth century, London Town flourished in the eighteenth century but declined and was all but forgotten by the end of nineteenth century. By the 1820s, the town was reduced to little more than a county home for the poor and needy of Anne Arundel County. London Town's colonial-period occupation did not produce a long-lasting community such as Alexandria, Baltimore, or Charleston, even though it served a similar purpose during the eighteenth century due to its role in local economy and the ferry crossing. It did not have the permanency of a town that was also a county seat or other administrative center. In the nineteenth century, the settlement area reverted to farmland; and during the last century, what had been the town experienced substantial residential development destroying the colonial landscape. (Figure 4.1)

As part of Britain's maritime empire in Maryland, London Town was a major entry port that was built to handle ships and their goods and to store and export hogsheads full of Maryland's cash crop, tobacco. Essentially, it served as the mercantile outpost of the colonial capital Annapolis. Thus, whatever affected Annapolis also affected London Town, an integral part of Maryland's local colonial economy. It performed this important role until the late 1800s when the rapid development of Baltimore City provided strong competition with its larger, deeper harbor and better road access than London Town or Annapolis could offer.

The century from 1680 to 1770 was a period of economic and physical expansion that prepared the colonists for the American Revolution and the subsequent federal period. More important than the revolution itself, the

Figure 4.1
London Town Peninsula: Twentieth Century Development



Modern map of London Town area showing development:squares represent structures. The modern park consists of about one-quarter of the original town. Excavations are contained in the park. The heavy dashed line shows the historical boundary of colonial London Town. Source: Anne Arundel County GIS Department, *CountyView* mapping program.

eighteenth century saw the development of the elements needed for a strong democracy and economic prosperity: religious moderation and toleration, a diverse population, readily available property and natural resources, self-government and perseverance in economic matters.[239] In contrast to the conditions in England, the British colonies in North America were able to grow and prosper unrestrained by the long-established forces of social and economic manipulation from the Crown, such as the system of guilds that controlled access to all crafts and manufacturing. Although local governing bodies and the Board of Trade imposed controls, America's relative autonomy promoted a self-determination that nurtured the colonies into a country. This period of growth (from 1680 to 1770) is the temporal setting for London Town.

LONDON TOWN LOT TRANSACTIONS

Many sources were used to study the patterns of economic activity and development in Anne Arundel County, Maryland and London Town including lot transactions, property records, tax assessments, port records, and reports from the Maryland colonial government to the Board of Trade in England. Census records were used to study population areas and their growth.

To chart the patterns of lot conveyances in London Town, over 100 patents, deeds of sale and of gift were collected by Anne Arundel County's *Lost Towns Project.*[240] The land records were photocopied and transcribed into a word processing program. Key pieces of information were extracted into a relational

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[239] John Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution Before 1776* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2000), 1-7.

[240] The author has been employed by the Lost Towns Project since 1997 as the main historian for London Town.

database. The following information was recorded: conveyance participants, date, liber, and folio of the record, lot or tract number, cadastral information, improvements, geographic references, chain of title, and price of each transaction.

The 1683 Town Act stipulated that town lots would be 1 acre in size. The majority of lots in London Town were 10 perches by 16 perches (1 acre) making for rectangular lots. Between 1684 and 1830, London Town lots were conveyed 210 times in 104 transactions. Of these 210 individual conveyances, 173 provide a lot number but 37 lots could not be traced. The total number of lots conveyed is used in the transaction/conveyance comparison, but not in the comparison for the number of times a lot changed hands, as all could not be tracked over time. The 173 numbered lot conveyances represent 75 of the original 101 lots. Of these 75 lots, each was sold an average of 2.2 times over the 140-year period. (Chart 4.1)

The 37 transactions with no lot numbers were used to quantify lot transactions over time, but were not used for the "times sold average." Twenty-five lots never appear in the records.[241] Perhaps these lots were never developed and constitute the sections of the town that easily reverted to farmland after 1800. Only 50 conveyances provide metes and bounds or cadastral information. The information was entered into a relational database built specifically to collect information on colonial town sites.[242] The lot transactions were counted by decade

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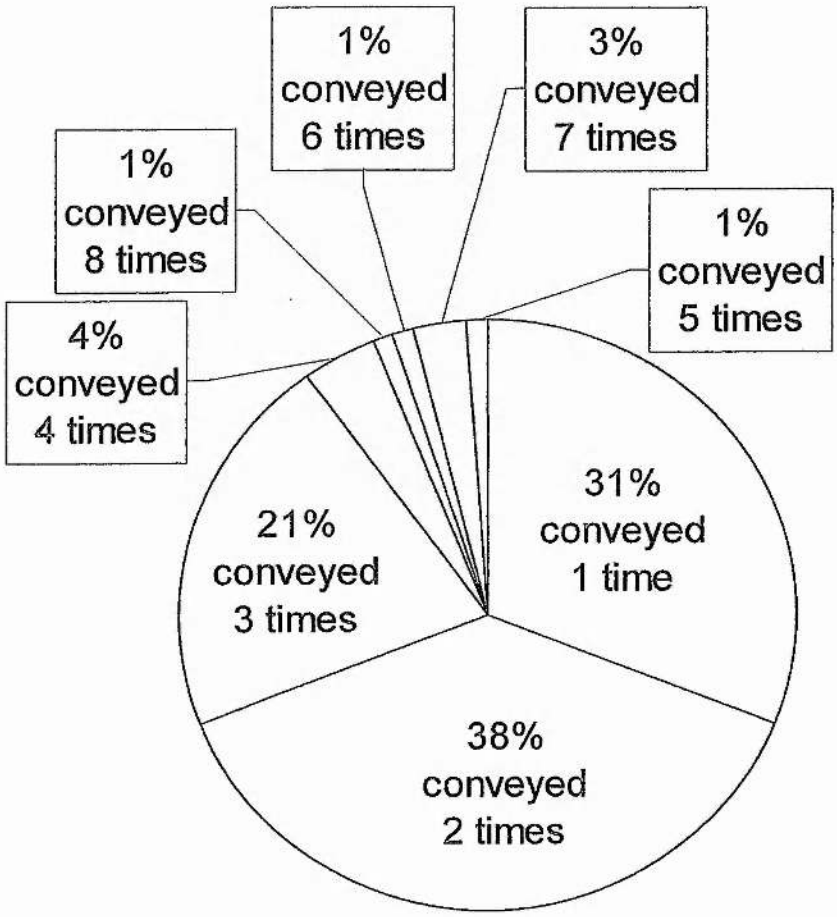
[241] The following lots do not appear in the conveyances of the land records: 3, 5, 9, 12, 16, 17, 18, 25, 26, 27, 31, 32, 35, 37, 40, 41, 52, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 88, 89, and 99.

[242] Dr. Al Luckenbach, Dr. Jay Thomas, and myself, of The Lost Towns of Anne Arundel Project, instituted the "Lost Towns Database" records project in 1997. Dr. Thomas built the database in Microsoft Access 97. Currently I am the database manager and oversee the collection of records, document transcription, and data entry as well as query building. Undergraduate and graduate students from regional universities have transcribed many of the records as part of internships with the project.

Chart 4.1
London Town Property Conveyances
from 1684 to 1830



Number of times lots were conveyed.

to show the patterns of conveyance activity. This demonstrated that many of the lots were owned but never occupied or improved with non residential building. Some lots that changed hands many times represent areas of activity and development within the town. Documents suggest that the majority of the lots conveyed were improved with homes, warehouses, and other structures.[243]

The pattern of lot transaction activity shows a longer period of viability for the town than previously thought, (see chapter 1 and the discussion of the 1747 tobacco inspection act) although the town got off to a slow start. (Chart 4.2) The greatest period of lot transaction activity was between 1710 and 1729 when 33 lots were bought and sold in 37 transactions. In the decade from 1730 to 1739, 25 lots were bought and sold in 13 transactions. Similarly, in the following decade, 29 lots were bought and sold in 12 transactions. There was no massive sale of lots in the years following the 1747 tobacco inspection act. In the period from 1750 to 1779, 18 sales involved 25 lots. There was no apparent dumping of lots, nor any great exodus from the town: abandonment seems to have been a long slow process. Transactions during this period from 1750 to 1779 were still between residents of the town, not outsiders, as was the case later in the 1780s and early 1800s. The lot consolidation that would turn sections of the town into a collection of small farms began in 1787 when the Moore family sold 37 lots in three parcels of ten, 12, and 15 to three different buyers. (The Moore family, through inheritance from William Burges and his wife Ursula Burges Moore, had held those lots since the early 1700s.) Most importantly, the buyers of these parcels were from outside the community of London Town. The majority of lot transactions before this time

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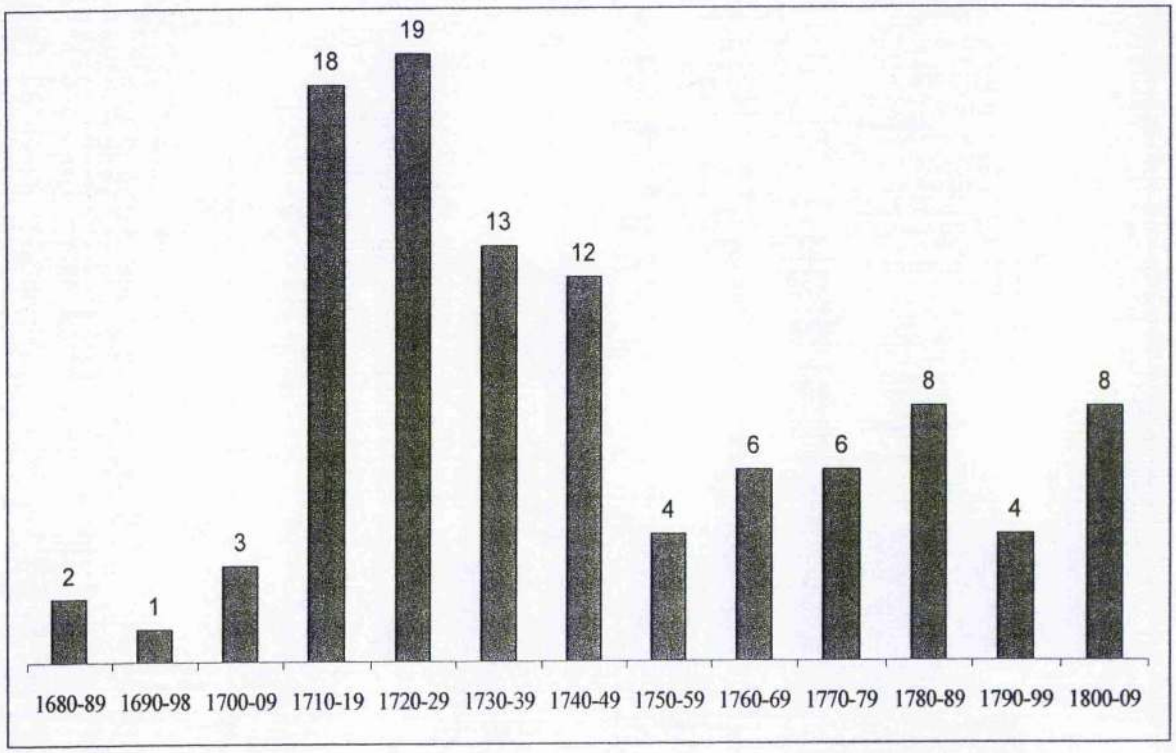
[243] MSA, AA Co. Land Records for the years 1683-1830.

Chart 4.2
Number of Lot Transactions by Decade: London Town



This data is based on recorded land transactions for London Town from the Land Records of the Maryland State Archives organized in *The Lost Towns Database* and maintained by the author for Anne Arundel County's *Lost Towns Project*.

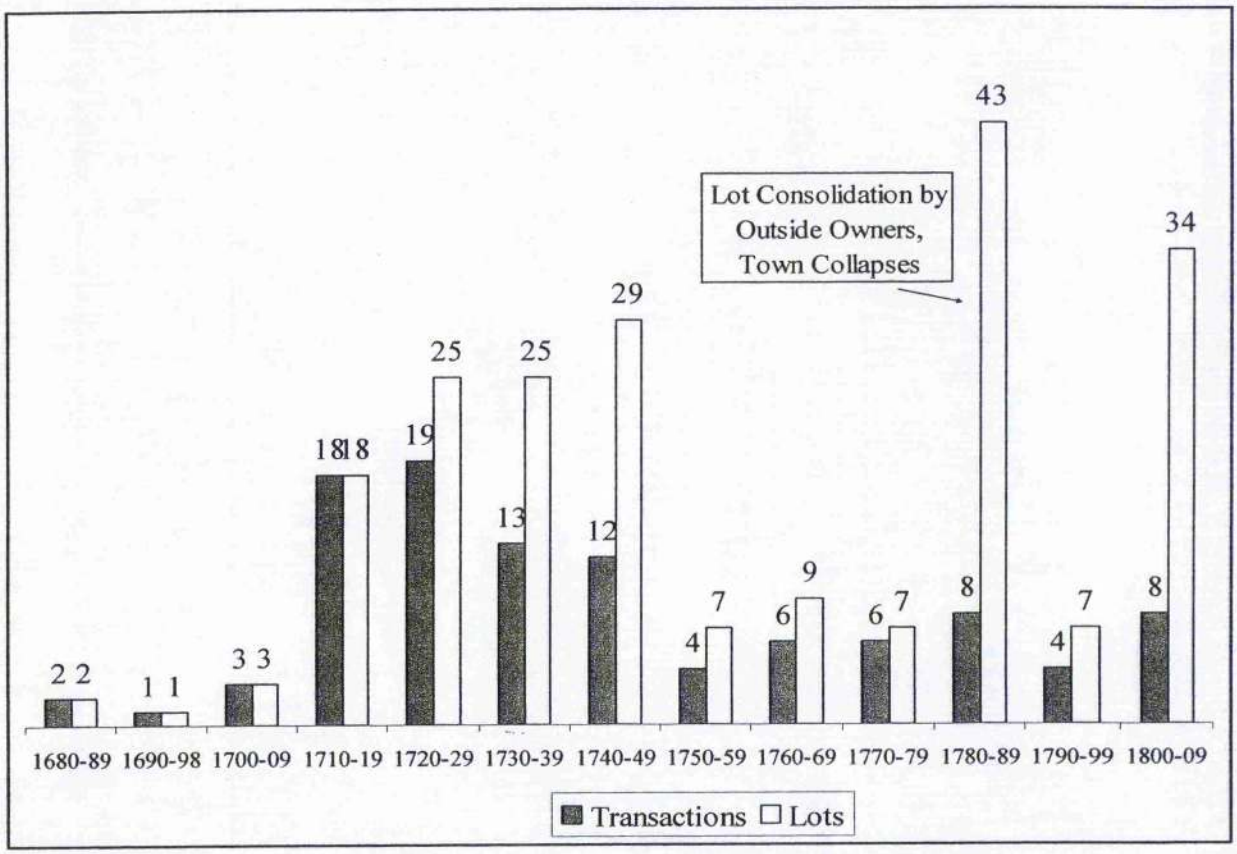
were between relatives, neighbors, and business associates. The period after 1787 saw individuals from Annapolis buying large sections of the town. (Chart 4.3) This activity was markedly different from the predominant real estate pattern over the town's history (i.e., a small ratio of lots-to-transactions that took place between residents of the town).

The decade with the most individual lots purchased was 1780 to 1789, though many of those same lots had never been sold before. During that decade, 41 lots changed hands in only six transactions. This was a period of lot sell-off, when those who held many lots in the town sold them. There was a similar sell-off in the decade from 1800 to 1809 when 34 lots were sold in eight transactions.

For the documents that provided lot numbers it seems that lots 33, 49 and 53 experienced the longest period of occupation. Lots 33 and 53 were involved in seven transactions, lot 49 in eight. Five other lots also were involved in multiple transactions: lots 1, 57, 62, 66, and 74 changed hands at least four times each. The tenure of these lots may be explained by their use. Lot 49 was the location of London Town's 'old' ferry and an ordinary. This property was owned by David Mackelfish and his heirs from 1703 to 1727, when it was purchased by William Wootton who held the property until his death in 1744. Both men operated an ordinary and a ferry at this location during their time in London Town. Later the Ferguson family, who also ran an ordinary, purchased this lot, suggesting that they took over Wotton's operation. Lot 53 was contiguous to the ferry location and the two lots (49 and 53) were often sold together. Waterside lot 33, located on Shipping Creek, may have been used as a loading area for cargo.

Although it is accepted that the area around the William Brown House was the centre of the town, land records and ownership patterns show that the area

Chart 4.3
Number Lots Sold Per Transaction



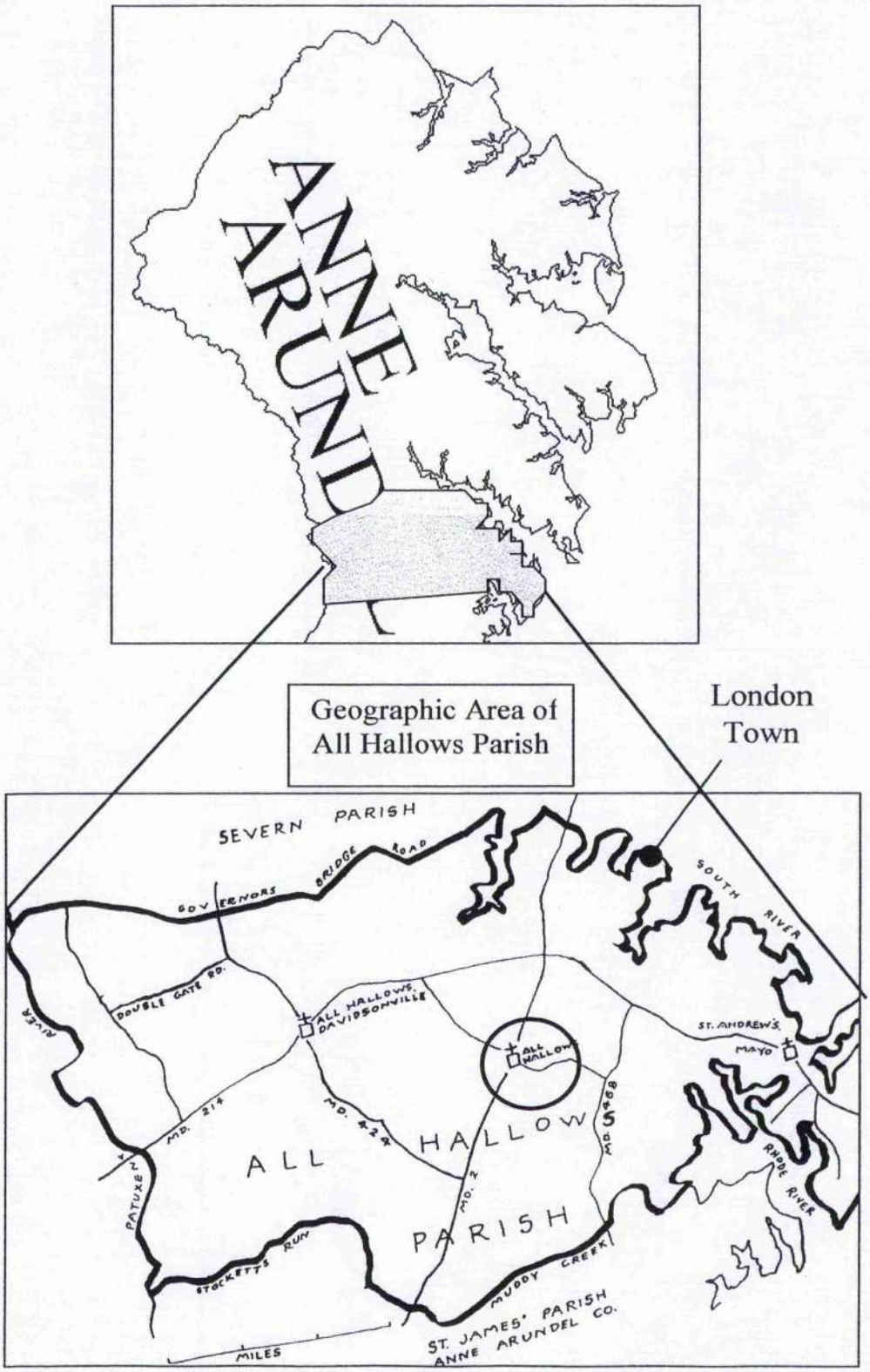
This data is based on recorded land transactions for London Town from the Land Records of the Maryland State Archives organized in The Lost Towns Database and maintained by the author for Anne Arundel County's *Lost Towns Project*.

adjacent to the 'old' ferry (lot 49) was occupied earlier in the century. Eventually, the 'new' ferry, located at lots 74 and 86, was adjacent to the tavern run by Edward Rumney, Stephen West, and William Brown (respectively), as they took over the ferry business in turn. Therefore, it appears that the town had two centres: one early (from 1690 to 1744), surrounding lot 49, and then one late (from 1720 to 1770s), surrounding lots 74 and 86. Only detailed study of land records, such as employed in this thesis, can show the growth and development patterns in the tobacco towns of colonial Maryland.

LONDON TOWN: HOUSEHOLDS IN 1776

Land and probate records are helpful in establishing who live where and when but census records provide the details needed to study population patterns over time. In 1692, a parish structure was established for Anne Arundel County. London Town was assigned to South River Parish (later changed to, and still called, All Hallows Parish). Many of London Town's residents lie in the graveyard of the All Hallows church. (Figure 4.2) In 1776, a census was enacted in Maryland and enumerated by parish. All Hallows Parish numbered 330 households, totaling 3,874 individuals. The high ratio of individuals to households is accounted for by the fact that a household consisted of the family unit and its slaves. Taxes were levied on heads-of-household (white men), white males over the age of sixteen, and slaves because they provided labour. Women headed 57 (17%) of the households. Racially, 58% percent of the population was black and 42% was white. The largest group consisted of black males at 24%: more than double their white counterparts who accounted for only 11% of the total. Similarly, the number of black children far exceeded that of the children of their

Figure 4.2
Boundary of All Hallows Parish



From Percy G. Skirver, *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland.* (Baltimore: Norman, Remington Company, 1923.)

white masters. (Chart 4.4)

It is difficult to extract the London Town residents from this record, as places of residence within the parish are not provided.[244] However, those who purchased lots in London Town or were cited in other records as living in London Town can be matched with names recorded in the census. In 1776, 12 heads of household can be tied directly to London Town.[245] It is difficult to establish whether all of these individuals lived in the town or simply owned property there, but a number (seven of the 12 families) definitely can be placed in the town.

William Brown purchased lots 69 and 74 in 1758.[246] An advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* places him there in 1761. "William Brown in London Town found a man's saddle near South River Ferry."[247] Between 1758 and 1770, he was involved with London Town merchant James Dick. Brown mortgaged his property to secure a loan of nearly £600 to build his brick house, the only original structure that remains in London Town today. William Brown's household in 1776 was numbered at 13 individuals: four white men, one white woman, five white children, and his slaves, two black males, and one black female. Brown is mentioned in the newspaper in reference to London Town again in 1768 and 1781. During this time he operated both a tavern and ferry in the town.

Elizabeth Ferguson was a widow in 1776. Her husband Alexander, London Town's tailor, died in 1770. They began to accumulate property in 1748 by

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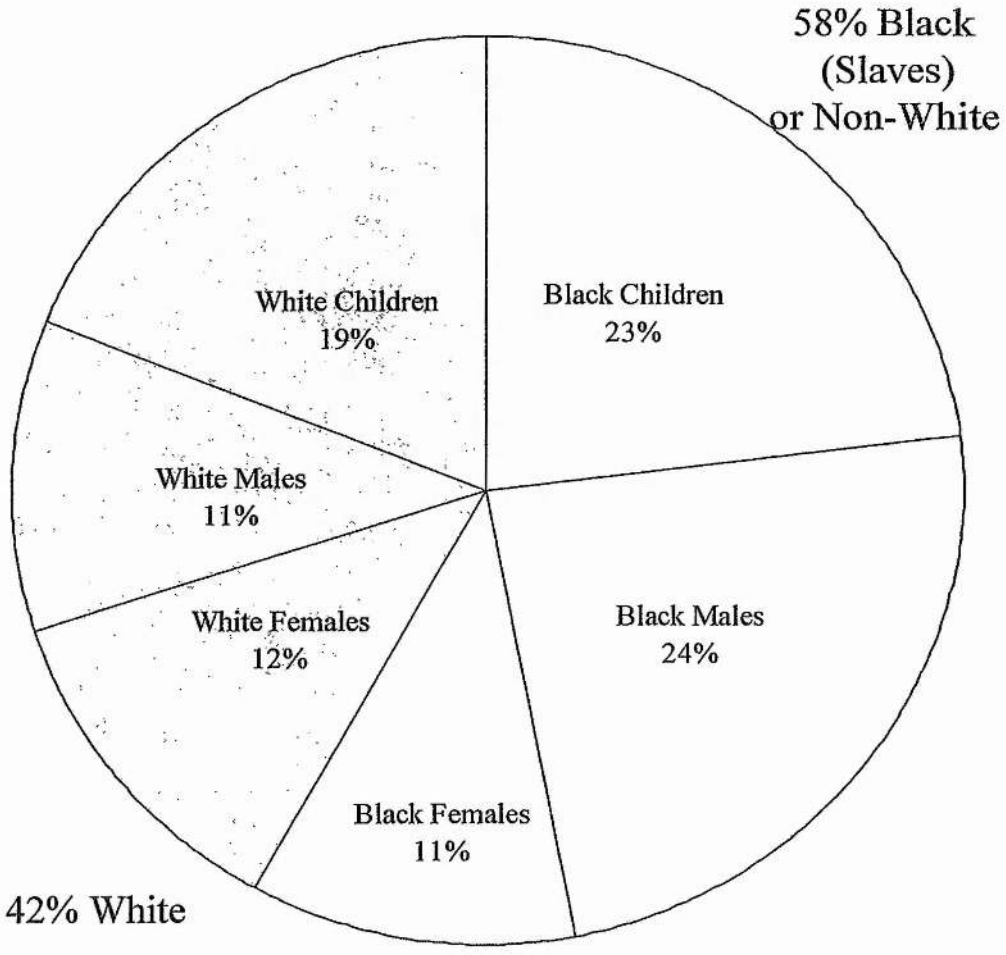
[244] The parish area extended from the south side of the South River to the west side of the West River and west to the county bound line with adjacent Prince George's County (est. 1695).

[245] The 12 names were Brogden, Brown, Buchanan, Burges, Dick, Ferguson, Iiams, Pearce, Scougall, Sifton, Strachan, and Watkins. However, data was available only on seven of the 12.

[246] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber BB2, folio 76; 1758 and Liber BB2, folio 215; 1758.

[247] Karen M. Green, *The Maryland Gazette 1727-1761* (Galveston: Frontier Press, 1989), 268.

Chart 4.4
1776 Census:
All Hallows Parish



From Percy G. Skirver, *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland.* (Baltimore: Norman, Remington Company, 1923.)

purchasing lot 91.[248] At the time of his death, Ferguson owned seven lots in the town and one in Annapolis. The Fergusons operated an ordinary out of their home in London Town and Elizabeth renewed the license after Alexander's death. She also purchased lots from her husband's estate in 1772.[249] They had seven children born between 1749 and 1764.[250] In 1776, the household of Elizabeth Ferguson consisted of ten individuals, three white females, one white child, one black man, one black woman, and four black children. The Fergusons were among a handful of families who moved to London Town and made it their home, never moving away.

Elizabeth Buchanan, was the widow (of Andrew Buchanan) who purchased lot 53 in 1774.[251] She was also godmother to Alexander and Elizabeth Ferguson's children, and had a small household in 1776 consisting of herself and one black female.

James Dick came to Anne Arundel County from Edinburgh, Scotland in 1734.[252] He purchased lots 1, 2, and 44 in London Town in 1738.[253] By 1776, he was an old man (born c. 1712) but his household consisted of 37 individuals. Twenty-four were slaves; but as Dick owned property adjacent to the town, it is likely that not all the slaves lived in the town. The numbers suggest that he had extended family in his household, as there were two other white males, three white females, and seven white children. This likely represents his daughter Mary

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[248] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber RB3, folio 100; 1748.

[249] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber IB4, folio 26; 1772.

[250] F. Edward Wright, *Anne Arundel County Church Records of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century,* (Maryland: Family Line Publications, 1978), 53-57.

[251] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber IB4, folio 297; 1774.

[252] Wright, *Church Records*, 55.

[253] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber RD3, folio 125; 1738.

McCullock and her three children. One of the adult white males was his unmarried sickly son, Alexander (born in 1747). In his will, James took great care to see that his son was provided for after his death. He appointed trustees to care for his son's financial matters (implying Alexander could not take care of himself). James Dick died in 1782 and referred to himself as "James Dick of London Town."[254]

Elizabeth Scougall was listed as a widow. Her husband, Captain Alexander Scougall first purchased property in 1744.[255] She purchased lot 33 from the estate of Alexander Ferguson in 1772.[256] In 1776, her household consisted of eight individuals: two white women, one black man, two black women, and three black children.

John Sefton (or Sifton) was London Town's shoemaker. He purchased lot 29 in 1762 and lot 98 in 1765.[257] In 1776, his household consisted of 14 individuals: two white men, one white woman, four white children, one black man, one black woman, and five black children.

Mary Strachan was the widow of Captain William Strachan (d.1768). She was a native of London Town, daughter of Eleanor and Captain Patrick Sympson. There are no land records associated with the Strachan family until 1765. They probably lived on property owned by the Sympson's, but the *Maryland Gazette* places William Strachan in London Town in 1748: "Lost on the road, between London Town and Mr. Jacob Franklin's, a silver snuff box marked WS with chas'd work on the top. Whoever will bring the said box to the subscriber at London

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[254] MSA AA Co. Probate Records Liber TG1, folio 71; 1778, James Dick.

[255] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber RB1, folio 418; 1744.

[256] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber IB3, 457; 1772.

[257] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber BB2, folio 712; 1762 and Liber BB3, folio 314; 1765.

Town shall have ten shillings reward, William Strachan."[258] By 1776, the two Strachan children were married and Mary was the only white person in her five-person household. She owned four slaves, three black men, and one black woman.

From a study of the above households, an estimated population for London Town can be surmised. London Town had a minimum of seven active households in 1776, and may have had as many as 90 residents, free and enslaved. Only 37 (or 41%) of that number were white. There were 330 households in All Hallows Parish, so the population at London Town made up two percent of the over all population. There were no other towns in the parish at this time but there were many planters with large numbers of slaves.

LONDON TOWN: FEDERAL TAX ASSESSMENT OF 1783

In 1783, the new state of Maryland enacted a tax on personal property. This took into account real property, slaves, and farm animals. Each category was enumerated under the owner's name. In this record, we find nine people listed as living in London Town. Four of them were the widowed women aforementioned for the 1776 census: Elizabeth Ferguson, Mary McCullock, Elizabeth Scougall, and Mary Strachan. William Brown, John Carle, John Craiggs, Stephen Rawlings, and John Sifton were the other landowners recorded in the assessment. Five of these households had appeared in the previous assessment (1776 Census).

Mary McCullock (widowed in 1766 when husband James died) was the daughter of James Dick and inherited her lots from her father. The tax assessment shows that Mary Strachan owned sections of 'Scorton and Burge,' consisting of

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[258] *Maryland Gazette*, November 30, 1748.

230 acres (of the original 1200 acres, from which London Town was created). Mary also owned eight lots that she had purchased from James Dick. Elizabeth Ferguson had four lots (49, 56, 66, and 91) and Elizabeth Scougall had three (33, 96, and perhaps 57). John Sifton also still lived in London Town with three lots (29, 98, and an unknown lot). He sold his lots to William Sifton, one of his sons, in 1792.[259] William Brown remained in London Town occupying lots 69 and 74.

The other landowners are more difficult to track. Stephen Rawlings owned one lot, which he may have inherited from his stepmother, Ann Chapman Rawlings. Her first husband owned many London Town lots. John Carle owned one lot, but nothing more is known about him. John Craiggs owned three lots, but the circumstances of his ownership are unknown.[260] In 1783, the Moore family still owned the majority of London Town. They may have sublet some of their lots, but the majority of the lots remained undeveloped and do not appear in the tax assessment. The only property cited as owned by a member of the Moore family was a 215-acre section of 'Scorton & Burge,' owned by Stephen Moore. No other Moore family members were cited in the assessment for the area surrounding London Town. By this time, many had moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

When the 1783 assessment is compared with conveyance records for London Town, it appears that some residents were not recorded in the assessment. For example, John Clarvo bought lots 49 and 53 in 1778 from Elizabeth Buchanan.[261] Clarvo did not appear in the 1783 assessment, but he did appear in the 1798 Federal Tax (discussed later). Similarly, due to a land dispute, Mary and

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[259] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber NH6, folio 311; 1792.

[260] There is a child grave in All Hallows graveyard of a John Craiggs, died 1768.

[261] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber DD6, folio 305; 1778.

Elizabeth Maccubbin submitted a deed to the Anne Arundel County Land office in 1782. They re-recorded the previous purchase of lot 4, yet they did not appear in the 1783 tax assessment. [262]

LONDON TOWN: 1798

The 1798 tax assessment was the most detailed of all eighteenth-century property assessments, and more lots were recorded than in the previous state assessment. The 1783 assessment recorded 33 lots; the 1798 assessment recorded 39. In 1787, Stephen Moore sold 37 of his family's lots in London Town. Of those, 32 had never been recorded as being sold before. They make up the majority of the lots recorded in 1798. Seven people were recorded as owners of the 39 lots: William Biggs, Ann Canton, James Clarvo, Randolph B. Lariemore, James McCullock, James Stewart, and John Watkins.[263] 'William Biggs, his heirs' were recorded as owning lot 51. The lot came to him through his marriage into the Ferguson family.

Ann Canton owned two unnamed lots. Ann was the wife of merchant and mariner Thomas Canton. Captain Canton purchased an unidentified lot in 1743[264] shortly before the birth of their child Elizabeth in 1745.[265] However, Thomas Canton died in 1752 and there are no other records for Ann Canton until 1798. If these two individuals were indeed the same woman, she would have been very elderly (in her 70s).

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[262] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber NH1, folio 315; 1782.

[263] The Larrimore family name was spelled many different ways over the years; Larimore, Larimer, Larrimore and Laiermore.

[264] MSA AA Co. Deeds RB1, folio 371; 1743.

[265] Wright, *Church Records*, 51.

James Clarvo should have appeared in the 1783 tax assessment as he is listed a having purchased his London Town lots 49 and 53 in 1778.[266] Nevertheless, the assessment in 1798 states that he owned three lots: 49, 53, and 66. No records exist for the purchase of the third lot.

James McCullock owned eight lots: 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, and 15. These lots passed to James McCullock through his mother, Mary Dick McCullock. She was listed in the 1783 assessment as owning seven lots. James Dick, Mary's father, purchased lot 7 in 1741.[267] Dick purchased lots 10, 11, 13, 14, and 15 in 1748. However, this only accounts for six lots. Lots 5 and 9 pose problems, for there are no records of them ever being conveyed. In addition, the 1783 assessment stated that the McCullocks held seven lots and the 1798 assessment records eight, but there is no evidence of an additional transaction for the eighth lot. Perhaps, James McCullock also may have inherited property from his grandfather, James Dick. However, no records were found to support this theory.

John Watkins owned one lot in 1798. The number of the lot was not recorded. In 1763, John Watkins sold an unnamed lot to Nicholas Watkins but the sum is so small it was probably a gift or payment for a debt. According to the records, the lot passed from John and Thomas Watkins (and Nathaniel Smith) to Nicholas Watkins.[268] Perhaps they were related. Regardless, in 1798 John Watkins was assessed for one lot in London Town. In the same assessment, there are eight other members of the Watkins family with property in the Rhode River Hundred (adjacent to London Town).

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[266] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber DD6, folio 305; 1778.

[267] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber RB1, folio 85; 1741.

[268] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber BB3, folio 12; 1763.

James Stewart owned ten lots in 1798 but they were not enumerated in the assessment. However, a transaction recorded his purchase of ten lots in 1787 from Stephen Moore.[269] Between July 6 and 10, 1787 Stephen Moore sold 37 lots in London Town. On July 10, he sold to James Stewart (or Steuart) lots 21, 22, 23, 45, 46, 47, 48, 84, 85, and 97. Eight of those lots had not been sold before 1787, but lots 23 and 97 had been occupied in the past. Lot 23 was first recorded in a transaction from William Chapman to William Peele in 1737.[270] Lot 97 was purchased by Alexander Ferguson in 1758 but resold in the Moore transaction in 1787.[271]

The last person listed in the assessment for lots in London Town was Randolph B. Laiermore (also spelled 'Larrimore': the name is found in many variations). This citation is perplexing. It noted 12 lots totaling 14 acres consisting of lots 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 68, and 69. However, the land records show that the same lots were conveyed from Stephen Moore to George Mann of Annapolis in 1787.[272] Furthermore these were the same lots sold by George's wife and executor, Mary Mann, in 1808 after George's death. Mary Mann sold the lots to James Larrimore.[273] In 1801, James Larrimore began to accumulate London Town lots, owning more than 25 lots at one time. Mann was from Annapolis and did not live in London Town. Apparently, the record in the assessment of 1798 mistakenly showed Larrimore in possession of the lots because he was Mann's tenant.

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[269] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber NH3, folio 159; 1787.

[270] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber RD2, folio 528; 1737.

[271] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber BBS, folio 215; 1758.

[272] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber NH2, folio 658; 1787.

[273] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber NH15, folio 15, 1808.

The Seftons, the shoemaking family, who had owned London Town lots as early as 1762, are missing from this assessment. Yet, during 1798, the Sefton family was known to be selling shoes in London Town, from advertisements in the *Maryland Gazette*. Additional records document that Sefton family members continued to live in the town as late as 1800.

Of the 39 lots recorded in this 1798 assessment, 27 had never been sold before 1787. They were part of the undeveloped lots held by the Moore family for over 70 years. The chain of title for London Town lots dissipates after 1798 in that there appear to be no additional real estate transactions involving town lots. The lot consolidation precipitated by the sale of the 37 Moore lots introduced nonresident owners to the town. Both Mann and Steuart were from Annapolis. They did not live or work in or near London Town. During the previous period (from 1684 until 1787), lot owners either lived in the town or owned lots in the town for their own commercial interest (e.g., warehouses for tobacco storage). During the majority of the eighteenth century, most London Town property owners were involved in the town. After 1787, London Town properties were investments by absentees and the town was no longer commercially viable.

This detailed study of the census and property assessments shows that London Town was occupied from 1684 until the early 1800s. It also shows that many lots were never developed, therefore London Town was never as large as originally intended (100 one-acre lots).[274] Conveyance records reveal that a number of lots were occupied for many years and a few changed hands many times, perhaps indicating their worth and use. Assessment records, coupled with

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[274] The town act stipulated one hundred, one-acre lots, however, there are deeds for London Town that note lot 101, perhaps indicating subdivision of lots.

the land records, provide a picture of the economic periods of expansion and contraction that affected London Town. (See Chart 4.2)

POST-COLONIAL LONDON TOWN

The William Brown House changed hands many times before it became a home for the county's poor. (Figure 4.3) The executors of James Dick and Allen Quynn, securer for William Brown, sold the house by auction, and John Hoskin Stone, Governor of Maryland (from 1794 to 1797), became the new owner of the building in 1793. Chain of title is unclear, but between 1793 and 1806 the house had many tenants. It seems that Jasper Edward Tilley, Anne Arundel County's sheriff, briefly owned the house, and conveyed it to Edward Hall in 1806.[275] That same year, James Larrimore purchased the house from Edward Hall.[276] James Larrimore owned many lots in London Town by 1806 and it is unclear whether he lived in the house, but it is likely, as the house was quite an investment at a value of $450.00. Fifteen years later, when he sold the house received nearly five times his purchase price.

The William Brown House became the location of the Anne Arundel County Almshouse in 1821 when the Anne Arundel County Trustees of the Poor purchased the large brick structure from James Larrimore.[277] The county paid Larrimore $2,500.00 for the house alone. In 1828, the trustees purchased the surrounding ten acres for only $5.00.[278] The house and its ten-acre grounds

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[275] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber NH13, folio 266; 1806.

[276] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber NH13, folio 266; 1806.

[277] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber WSG13, folio 314; 1828.

[278] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber WSG13, folio 314; 1828.

Figure 4.3
William Brown House c. 1764

London Town Park, the William Brown House located in Edgewater, Anne Arundel County, Maryland. Photo presents west side (left) and south side (right). Primary façade is on north side of the building, not shown here. The house after its 1970 restoration to the colonial period form. The structure was built using all header-bond, on all facades. Photograph by the author (1999).

operated as a home for the poor until the passage of the Medicare Act in 1964 and the enabling legislation of Medicaid in 1965.[279] These social welfare programs dismantled the public almshouse system. The "Almshouse Minute Book" (accounting ledger) for Anne Arundel County survives in the Maryland State Archives. It is a detailed record of spending for the care of the house and its inhabitants. Many local names that were once associated with London Town appear in the ledger for having provided such goods and services as food, medical care, firewood, and furnishings.[280]

By the time the county purchased the William Brown House, James Larrimore owned many London Town lots. Between 1801 and 1827 he purchased three unidentified lots as well as 12 numbered lots.[281] He also owned the ten acres around the Brown House that were conveyed to the county in 1821. In estimation, he owned one third of the developed lots. The residents listed in the 1798 assessment either had died or had sold their property to Larrimore by the Almshouse period (1823 to 1965).

Few records after 1800 survive regarding London Town. Therefore, its post-colonial character is difficult to assess. Although the Moore family sold 37 of their lots in 1787, one late transaction survives that attests to their large property holdings. In 1833, Stephen West Moore, heir and great-grandson of Richard

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[279] At that time, the ownership was transferred to the county's Department of Recreation and Parks. A local women's club headed by Gladys Nelker spearheaded the effort to preserve the house and park. Due to Nelker's efforts, and many other local residents, the William Brown House was made a National Historic Landmark in 1973. Medicare and Medicaid information from New York Public Library, *American History Desk Reference* (New York: Macmillan, 1997), 350 and 356.

[280] Maryland State Archives Collection: CM950; Anne Arundel County Trustees of the Poor (Almshouse Minute Book). Dates: 1820-1871; Description: MS 24; Accession No.: CR 34,731; MSA No.: CM 950-1.

[281] He owned lots 21, 22, 23, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 84, 85, and 97.

Moore, sold to William Steuart: "All those certain tracts of land lying and being in London Town in the said county and state which were formally owned and held by the above named (Mordecai Moore, Richard Moore and Samuel Preston Moore) persons the kin of him the said Stephen West Moore."[282] The size of the property is unknown and the lot numbers went unrecorded. The area still was known as London Town in 1833 but it no longer functioned as a residential or commercial center. The majority of the town lots were either vacant, consolidated and owned by James Larrimore or part of the Almshouse complex.

The ferry still operated in the 1830s and beyond. Jacob Slemaker bequeathed his farm in London Town to his daughter and son-in-law Emmeline and James B. Smith in 1838: that property included the South River Ferry at London Town as well as the landing on the north side of the South River complete with two ferryboats and slaves. Perry, the slave who rowed the ferry across the South River from London Town conveyed with the property.[283] However, the ferry at London Town was replaced with a bridge built by Anne Arundel County and the State of Maryland in 1872. It spanned the South River about a mile north of London Town at the property of Stephen Lee.

By the first decades of the nineteenth century, the once bustling merchant-occupied tobacco-port at London Town had long ceased to be a centre of activity. All that remained were the ferry, the Almshouse, perhaps a few tenant farmers, and the Larrimore family.[284] The section of the town that had been the late center of

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[282] MSA AA Co. Liber WGS18, folio 173; 1833. Stephen West Moore was the son of Richard Moore (d. 1760) and Mary Magdalene (nee West) Moore. Stephen West Moore was born in 1756.

[283] MSA AA Co. Probate Wills Liber TTS, folio 329; 1838.

[284] The descendents of James Larrimore still live on the property that was once London Town. The area is now called "Larrimore Point." It currently consists of approximately five acres.

activity, lots 74 and 86, was absorbed into the Almshouse property. Therefore, it is doubtful that London Town could be considered a commercial port after 1830. Much as Anne Arundel County was abandoned for Baltimore County, London Town was left behind as community of the county's poor, no longer a destination for ships importing British wares and exporting Maryland tobacco. Sailing ships gave way to steam-powered boats and ferry crossing gave way to bridges: yet another contributing factor to the demise of London Town.

Brunswick Town: A Colonial Port

The data collected for this thesis (land and probate records, port records, legislative documents, parish and church records, census records, and newspapers) were assembled to document London Town and to augment the data, regarding the town's past, collected through archaeological excavations. When the statistical analysis for the land records, to chart patterns of development, was completed, sources were sought for comparison. Unfortunately, no sources for an "apples to apples" comparison were discovered. However, the colonial port of Brunswick Town can be compared to elements of the data presented herein suggesting that London Town's fate was not uncommon for towns established to serve Britain's mercantile system.

Port towns were essential to the development of the colonies by consolidating population and expanding frontiers. One such town was Brunswick, established in 1726, on the Cape Fear River in southern North Carolina.[285] It was a center for trade and commerce, populated by merchants, and was home to the

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[285] Linda F. Carnes-McNaughton, "Introduction to 'From the Ashes: Renewed Research of Brunswick Town, North Carolina's Colonial Port'." *North Carolina Archaeology* 46 (1997): 1.

governor's estate. It was not a legislated town to promote trade (as was London Town) but the investment of one property owner, Maurice Moore, who purchased 1,500 acres on the west side of the Cape Fear River in 1725.[286] He established a wharf and divided the town into lots, selling them to residents of the near by plantations. This encouraged exportation of local produce. Land records research conducted by Lawrence Lee found that the average lots size at Brunswick Town was ½ acre (or 82.5 ft wide by 264 ft deep).[287]

Although it played an important role in the colonial era trade of North Carolina, the town reached its zenith by the late 1760s, was burned by the British during the American Revolution, in ruins by 1830, and abandoned by the mid-nineteenth century.[288] The town had many periods of occupation similar to London Town. Much of the work on Brunswick Town has concentrated on the interpretation of the rich material culture (from the colonial period occupation) such as delftware tiles used for interior decoration in the homes and taverns in the town. Findings reflect structures and owners that held a high social-economic status in colonial North Carolina.[289]

Much like London Town the physical location of Brunswick Town was well situated for a port: it was located 12 miles up the Cape Fear River at a section

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[286] Anna L. Gray, "Return to the Port of Brunswick: An Analysis of Two Eighteenth-Century North Carolina Sites." *North Carolina Archaeology* 46 (1997): 69.

[287] Thomas Beaman, Jr. etal, "Archaeological History and Historical Archaeology: Revisiting the Excavations at Brunswick Town, 1958-1968." *North Carolina Archaeology* 47 (1998): 3.

[288] Carnes-McNaughton, "Renewed Research of Brunswick Town, North Carolina," 2.

[289] Thomas Beaman, Jr., " 'Some Fragments of Blue Dutch Tiling' at Brunswick Town: Decorative Delftware Tiles from Russellborough, Prospect Hall, and the Public House." *North Carolina Archaeology* 46 (1997): 31.

that was both wide and deep.[290] However, Brunswick was not a tobacco town. Its largest class of exports was naval stores such as tar, pitch, and turpentine and these goods were the basis of the town's economy. By the 1760s, the lower Cape Fear region was the largest supplier of naval stores to the British Empire.[291] Unlike London Town, Brunswick Town was an official Customs port, one of five in North Carolina and records show that 57% of the 612,793 barrels of tar, pitch, and turpentine shipped to Great Britain were produced in North Carolina and 73% of that came from Brunswick.[292]

Brunswick's history is better documented than London Town due primary records associated with the customs port and a colonial period map. Claude Joseph Sauthier, a surveyor and cartography employed by North Carolina, mapped the town in 1769 leaving behind documentation of Brunswick's five docking and loading areas and many public and private structures.[293] From 1958 until 1968 archaeologist Stanley South used Sauither's map to relocate the structures of Brunswick Town, eventually finding 60 colonial-period architectural features.[294] Clearly different from London Town, Brunswick had a courthouse and gaol (two of the only earthfast or impermanent structures), a church (St Phillip's) and many dwellings built with mortared stone and brick.

> All of the foundations of domestic structures excavated were constructed of chert or flint ballast stones and cemented with tabby, a locally-produced

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[290] Kenneth W. Robinson, "Port Brunswick and the Colonial Navel Stores Industry: Historical and Archaeological Observations." *North Carolina Archaeology* 46 (1997): 51.

[291] Robinson, "Port Brunswick and the Colonial Navel Stores," 51 and 52. Robinson sites the 1951 work by Lawrence E. Lee, Jr. *The History of Brunswick, North Carolina: The Political and Economic Development of a Colonial Town.* Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill.

[292] Robinson, "Port Brunswick and the Colonial Navel Stores," 59.

[293] Robinson, "Port Brunswick and the Colonial Navel Stores," 60-61.

[294] Beaman, et al, "Revisiting the Excavations at Brunswick Town," 10.

> mortar consisting of sane, lime, crushed oyster shell, and water. Hand-made bricks were used for chimneys in these dwellings. Bricks were most often used as floor pavers ... It appears that the bricks used at Brunswick Town were manufactured locally.... Only the small Dutch bricks used as floor pavers and in the construction of heaths and partitions walls ... were thought to have been imported.[295]

Based on other maps of other colonial period towns in North Carolina (a total of ten), Brunswick Town is considered a "medium" town, surpassed by its rival Wilmington which was more than twice its size.[296] Brunswick's size and proximity to a larger port such as Wilmington is considered a reason why it was not rebuilt after being burned by the British during the American Revolution.[297] A hurricane in 1769, that blew down buildings, and the presence of British troops are sited as the two main reasons that, "Brunswick Town appears to have been completely abandoned by October 1777."[298] However, Brunswick Town was also part of the British mercantile system and much like London Town; it was largely dependent on trade with the Mother County. Just as with London Town, the demise of Brunswick Town cannot be blamed on one event but there is little doubt that some the same reasons, hereafter outlined, that caused London Town's demise were experienced by Brunswick Town.

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[295] Beaman, et al, "Revisiting the Excavations at Brunswick Town," 14.

[296] Beaman, et al, "Revisiting the Excavations at Brunswick Town," 17.

[297] Beaman, et al, "Revisiting the Excavations at Brunswick Town," 17.

[298] Beaman, et al, "Revisiting the Excavations at Brunswick Town," 18.

Chapter 5: British Trade with London Town

MERCHANT CONNECTIONS: LONDON, ENGLAND

London Town once was a bustling commercial maritime community. It was a port town alive with mariners and merchants (who were often one and the same, wearing two or three hats if they were also a plantation owner) with warehouses full of tobacco and merchandise. Most trade was conducted with merchants and factors in London, England. However, Maryland and Britain had very different systems of trade. Maritime trade in Maryland was governed by colonial law, whereas maritime trade in the City of London was a highly regulated business.

England's system of guilds touched nearly every craft and trade.[299] A guild was an organized group or association of individuals involved in the same business or trade. Membership was grouped by profession or craft, and the primary function was to establish local control by setting standards of workmanship and the prices of marketable and manufactured goods. Craft or trades people were not allowed to sell their wares in an area unless they were members of the local guild.[300] Guilds were overseen and regulated by deans or wardens who were senior members of the organization and who operated within a prescribed set of traditional regulations and practices within specific geographic areas, often one town or city. They established rules regarding standards of work and quality, and acted as regulators, exerting their powers by assessing penalties against members

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[299] For detailed information on trade and craft guilds see: Stelle Kramer, *The English Craft Guilds* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), Charles Gross, *The Guild Merchant* (Oxford: Clarenson Press, 1890) and Herbert, William, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London* (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1968).

[300] Charles Gross, *The Gild Merchant* (Oxford: Clarenson Press, 1890), 39.

who did not meet the particular guidelines of their association. Regulation assured quality and price stabilization as well as proper training of artisans through apprenticeships. For most trades, young men (or women, depending on the trade) usually would undergo an apprenticeship for as long as seven years. During that time, they would learn the skills, customs, and regulations of their chosen occupation. Guilds also were involved in social causes such as charitable schools and "life insurance" (i.e., providing for widows and orphans) for its members. The guild system had its roots in the mediaeval period. The 12 original English guilds established by Henry VIII were Mercers (merchants), Grocers, Drapers (cloth dealers), Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners (leather workers), Merchant Taylors, Haberdashers, Salters (those who sell salt), Ironmongers, Vintners, and Clothworkers.

Maryland did not have a guild system because, as a colony, it did not manufacture goods and because it did not have large population centers (until after the 1750s). Some colonies did produce value-added goods for export, such as foodstuffs and wood products, (i.e., such as barrels and hogsheads). However, they were produced to facilitate exportation of goods to England and its trade routes, not necessarily as goods for resale. The purpose of the colonies was to supply raw materials and crops.

In Maryland, the General Assembly regulated trade in the colony. It passed laws regarding commerce based on Board of Trade recommendations.[301] However, the Board was unfamiliar and detached from commerce in Maryland and other colonies. It was dependent on local assemblies (i.e., the Maryland

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[301] See the many volumes of correspondence between the governors of colonial Maryland and the Board of Trade. Great Britain, Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America, and West Indies* . . . (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1860-1953).

Assembly) for ideas on the needs or particular situations of individual colonies and exportable goods. Furthermore, review (by the Board of Trade) of colonial laws regarding trade was slow, possibly taking years to analyze or alter. Consequently, trade was less regulated in Maryland than it was in English counties and towns because there were no guilds to oversee trade. This resulted in a very different business environment. This absence of guilds led to individuals in the colonies becoming independently entrepreneurial. For example, in England the vast majority of merchants were "limited" merchants, as they usually were involved in the buying and selling of a particular good such as salt (Salters), or fish (Fishmongers) or wine (Vintners). Occasionally, merchants would own a ship, or shares of a vessel, to transport his goods. However, "merchants" in Maryland also could be planters (farmers) and sea captains. They could own land, and grow tobacco, as well as sail the ships to export their commodities to England. Indeed, the activities of the colonial merchants were very different from the duties and practices of the merchants (and guild members) in England.

Trade could be a lucrative business and being a merchant in the eighteenth century required more education than most occupations requiring manual labor. Merchants had to be able to read, write, and calculate in order to conduct correspondence and tabulation for composing bills of lading and rates of interest. In the early years of the eighteenth century, London (England) mathematician Edward Hatton compiled a book of skills and knowledge requisite for merchants and those involved in trade. His work titled *The Merchants Magazine: or Trades Man's Treasury* contained the following information, as noted in the table of contents:

> Arithmetic, in whole number and fractions, vulgar and decimal…
> Merchants Accounts, or a most concise way of calling up the value of

> merchandise, interest of coin, rule of barter, loss and gain, fellowship, equations of payments and several matters relating to exchanges, never before made public.
> Book Keeping, after a plain, easy and natural method, showing how to enter, post, close and balance and accounts, & c.
> Maxims concerning bills of exchange, factors and factorage…
> The Port of Letters to and from foreign countries; and the days when mails are sent to, and due from those countries.
> An account of the commodities produced by all Countries: Their chief towns of trade and bigness of the country compared to England.
> A Merchant or Trader's Dictionary, explaining the most difficult terms used in trade.
> Precedent of Merchants Writing; as, Bills of Lading, Invoices, Bills of Exchange, Letters of Credit, Charter-Parties, & c.[302]

Hatton provided charts and tables for the user as well as a dictionary of foreign words and objects to simplify the complexities of international trade. One interesting component of Hatton's book, and others like it, are the descriptions provided of the colonies. The raw material (or commodities) and crops are noted starkly. It is doubtful that many Britons knew much about the colony of Maryland as it rarely was documented as a place of trade, and when it was, the information was incomplete. Hatton's description of the British Colonies in America was as follows:

> The middle part [of the Americas] produces these excellent commodities, viz. Cotton-wool, Sugar, Tobacco, Furs, Indigo, Ginger, Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, Rosin Turpentine, Copper, Tar, Deal-boards, Gold, Silver, Pearls, Coca-nuts, Cocheneal, Honey, Balm, Amber, Hides, Tallow, Salt, Medicinal Drugs, Logwood. Chief towns of trade are Boston and London in New England, New York; Philadelphia in Pennsylvania; Oxford in Maryland; James Town and Wiccomoco in Virginia; Charles Town in the Carolina . . . This part of the world, called America is about 90 times as big as England.[303]

The only Maryland town mentioned in Hatton's description is Oxford, on the Eastern Shore. The Port of Annapolis, the capital and administrative center of

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[302] Edward Hatton, *The Merchants Magazine: or Trades Man's Treasury,* 6th Edition (London: Charles Coningsby, 1712), Title Page.

the colony was not mentioned. It is very likely that Hatton was using outdated information on the American colonies, as there were many developed locations not included in his book.

As late as 1721, other accounts of Maryland describe it as a wilderness with no towns and few people. Geographer John Senex described Maryland in the following way:

> Maryland has Virginia in the South, Pennsylvania on the North, unknown countries in the West and the Atlantic on the East . . . It was before reckoned part of Virginia . . . The country is divided into 10 shires. There are no Towns for want of a number of merchants, tho in 1708 the inhabitants were computed at 30,000. The tobacco here, of which 'tis thought the county produces as much as Virginia, is that called Oronoko, stronger than that of Virginia, and preferred to it in the East and North Parts of Europe . . ..[304]

Senex went on to mention all of the natural resources (such as wood) that were plentiful in Maryland. He also commented on the condition of Annapolis in 1721. "Annapolis, in the county Arundel, is a Port-Town, and the Seat of Government and Assembly, which was transferr'd hither from St. Mary's . . . It consists about forty houses, seven or eight of which are fit for Inns, and has two Markets a week."[305]. Although Senex stated there were no towns, by 1721, (his publication date) Maryland had many towns, London Town among them. It is clear that this sixth edition still was not accurate, for this information on Maryland was outdated and confusing.

Although published information on the colony of Maryland was inaccurate, London, England merchants were able to find the London Town and trade with it as well as make it their home. Most of the eighteenth-century residents of London

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[303] Hatton, *Merchants Magazine*, 216.

[304] John Senex, *A New General Atlas containing Geographic and Historical Accounts of all the Empires and Kingdoms and other Dominions of the world: with the natural history of each Country* (London: 1721), 241.

Town were recent immigrants. For example, John Peele, a merchant in London, England sent his brother and factor, Samuel Peele, to London Town in 1716. Similarly, James Dick (from Edinburgh, Scotland) found London Town through his Uncle William Black in 1734. It appears that immigrants sought out their countrymen as partners in trade. James Dick worked with mariners Alexander Scougall and William Strachan. Both men were from Scotland, like Dick, but ended up in London Town through their connections in maritime trade. Some London Town merchants, such as William Nicholson were Maryland natives. Nicholson traded with William Hunt of London, England. During the eighteenth century, at least 12 London, England merchants were involved with trade in London Town. (Chart 5.1)

Further ties to London Town can be found in London's old city directories, which listed the names and locations of merchant firms or factors. Mariners and supercargoes conducting business in England's capital city may have known a name or a face, but getting around in London required some knowledge of the city. Merchant directories provided this knowledge and were likely important tools for foreign merchants. Names of some individuals importing tobacco through London Town in Maryland can be found in these directories. For example, William Black was from London, England. He moved to London Town (c. 1720s), purchased a few lots, and later returned to London from where he traded with London Town merchant Samuel Chapman. William Black kept shop in London at Suffolk Lane

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[305] Senex, *A New General Atlas*, 241.

Chart 5.1
Maritime Trading Partners

Date	Ship Name	Master	Shipment Going to
April 17, 1754	Betsey	White, John	John Buchanan
May 24, 1754	Beaumont	Howell, James	Bryan Philpot
June 16, 1754	Chapman	Dare, John	William Perkins
July 3, 1754	Buchanan	Hall, James	John Buchanan
April 28, 1755	Unity	Holland, James	Bryan Philpot
May 24, 1755	Betsey	White, John	John Buchanan
June 26, 1755	Providence	Dare, John	William Perkins
July 3, 1756	Betsey	White, John	John Buchanan
June 30, 1757	Betsey	White, John	John Buchanan
June 30, 1757	Robert & Ann	Lewis, David	Bryan Philpot
June 26, 1758	Robert & Ann	Lewis, David	Bryan Philpot
June 26, 1758	Betsey	Strachan, William	John Buchanan
July 24, 1759	Betsey	Strachan, William	John Buchanan
July 24, 1759	John & Jane	Lewis, David	Thomas Philpot
July 24, 1760	Susannah & Sarah	Lewis, David	Thomas Philpot
July 14, 1760	Betsey	Strachan, William	John Buchanan
July 9, 1761	Princess Caroline	Cole, James	Sydenham & Hodgson
July 22, 1761	Polly	Chilton, Joseph	Thomas Philpot
August 17, 1762	Prince William	Kinlock, David	John Buchanan

From the Maryland State Archives, Land Records Office, Provincial Court 1705-1762. Ship captains were required to record, with the court, their shipping rate for tobacco (per ton). Each record lists the ship name, the captain's name, his freight rate, as well as the river location of his ship. Complied by Jacob M. Hemphill in "Tobacco Freight Rates in the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1705-1762." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 55 (1959): 36-58. Dates also from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745-1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557-1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

and Cannon Street near Steel Yard Wharf.[306] London Town shipmaster William Strachan was involved with London merchant John Buchanan, who was located at Little Tower Street in the heart of the city near The Tower and Custom House Key (Quay).[307]

William Hunt also was located on Little Tower Street (from the 1730s to the 1750s) in London. He worked with London Town merchant William Nicholson.

Samuel Hyde was located just a little north of William Hunt on Rood Lane.[308] Hyde worked with London Town shipmaster Alexander Scougall. London merchant Isaac Milnor owned the vessel *Milnor* that visited London Town to take on tobacco. He was located at St. Martin's Lane and Cannon Street near Fishmongers Hall and worked with London Town's Captain John Dixon.[309] (Figure 5.1)

Maryland may have been a colony about which little was known by the general public in England but its famous tobacco was sought out and purchased by London merchants. In turn, these merchants, made a wide variety of goods available to Maryland's small ports like London Town. London merchants had influence on the development and prosperity of London Town.

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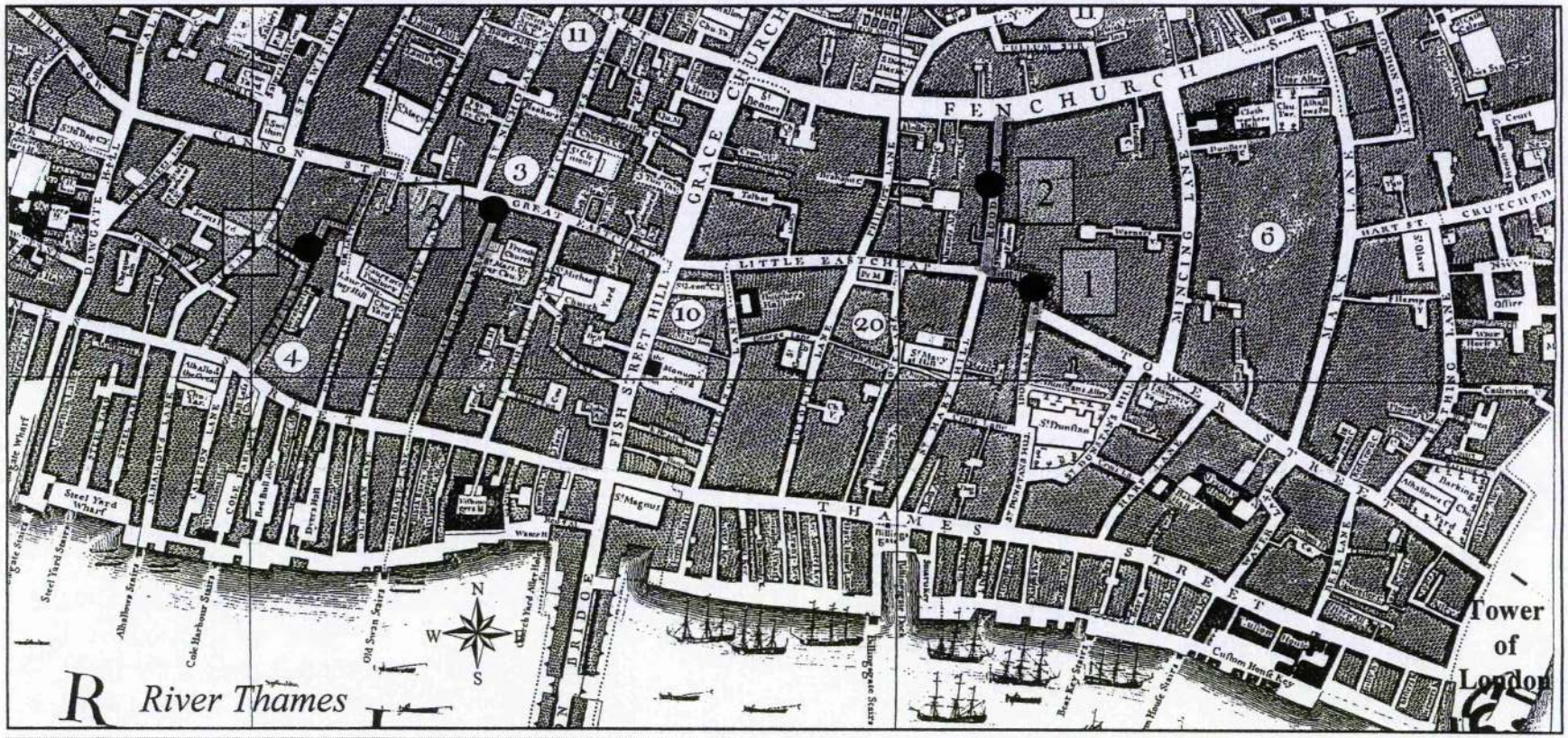
[306] J. Osborn, *A complete guide to all persons who have any trade or concern with the city of London. . .* 3rd Edition (London: J. Osborn, 1744). The British Library in London has a comprehensive collection of merchant directories covering the period 1736 until the 1760s. For the location of London merchants, the author used the maps found in: Ralph Hyde, *The A to Z of Georgian London* (London: Guildhall Library, 1981).

[307] Henry Kent, *Kent's Directory for the Year 1759*, 26th Edition (London: Henry Kent, 1759) and Hyde, *Georgian London*, 26-28.

[308] Kent, *Kent's Directory for 1736*, s.v. "H."

[309] Kent, *Kent's Directory for 1736,* s.v. "M," and Hyde, Georgian London, 26-28.

Figure 5.1
Locations of London Merchants Dealing with London Town



Key

1. *Little Tower Street*: William Hunt and John Buchanan
2. *Rood Lane*: Samuel Hyde
3. *St. Martin's Lane, Cannon Street:* Isaac Milner
4. *Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street:* William Black

Detail of John Rocque's *Map of London* c.1738 adapted by the author from Ralph Hyde's, *The A to Z of Georgian London* (London: Guildhall Library, 1981), 26.

Scottish and European Connections with London Town

As mentioned, James Dick moved to Anne Arundel County from Scotland and maintained connections with his homeland. He apparently encouraged other Scots to move to London Town. Captains Alexander Scougall and William Strachan, and merchants David McCulloch and Anthony Stewart were also from Scotland and all had dealings with James Dick. Captains Scougall and Strachan sailed Dick's vessels to Britain and beyond; both lived in London Town. Scottish merchants Stewart and McCulloch married two of Dick's daughters and became successful businessmen in Maryland. Anthony Stewart formed a partnership with Dick and their company *James Dick & Stewart* operated stores in Annapolis and London Town. David McCulloch opened a store in Baltimore, expanding the family business.

Other connections to Scotland, such as the education of London Town's youth, existed before James Dick moved to Maryland. During the eighteenth century, Edinburgh was known to be home to the best medical training and education in Europe. Anne Arundel County native Dr. Richard Hill (born 1698) received his medical training in Scotland and returned to Maryland to live in London Town. He was known as a physician in a family of merchants and mariners. His grandfather had been Annapolis' first Naval Officer. Hill owned many lots in London Town and had extensive landholdings adjacent to the town. He sold tobacco from his plantations and collected plant specimens for the Royal Society in London while experimenting with native Maryland plants for medicinal

use.[310] However, Hill was forced to declare bankruptcy in 1739 after the sinking of one of his tobacco-laden vessels. Unable to pay his debts he sold his properties in London Town and moved to the Portuguese Island of Madeira.[311] By 1744, he was able to reestablish himself financially and opened a Madeira wine trading company in Funchal from where he shipped wine to merchants and members of his extended family in Maryland and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.[312]

Dr. Hill was the father of ten children. In 1744, his oldest son Richard Hill, Jr., (age 23) accompanied his youngest son Henry (10) to Scotland to enroll him in a school operated by the Love Family in Dalkeith outside of Edinburgh.[313] Henry remained at the school until 1751. However, he was not trained in medicine. Henry went on to take over his father's vintners company *Hill, Lamar, and Bissett* based in Philadelphia after Dr. Hill's death (due to liver disease) in 1762.

Other academic connections to Scotland can be found with Anne Arundel County merchant William Nicholson and London Town tavern and ferrykeeper William Brown. William Nicholson was a native of Anne Arundel County and sold tobacco through London Town. When he died in 1731, his will outlined a very specific future for his son, Beale.

> My will and desire is and I do direct and order that my son when he shall arrive to the age of 10 years shall be sent to Edinburgh and there put to school in order to fit him for the study of Civil Law, and as soon as he shall be sufficiently learned for such study that he shall be sent to college or such other place most fit for that purpose, and there continued for three years and then removed to London to study the Common Law of England in some of

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[310] Mechelle, L. Kerns and Mollie Ridout, *Dr. Richard Hill of London Town* (Maryland: London Town Foundation, 1998), 10-19.

[311] For more information of the Hill Family of London Town, Madeira and Philadelphia see Mechelle, L. Kerns and Mollie Ridout. *Dr. Richard Hill of London Town.* (Maryland: London Town Foundation, 1998).

[312] His wife was the granddaughter of the governor of Pennsylvania.

[313] Kerns and Ridout, *Dr. Richard Hill*, 31

> the Inns of Court ... I give and bequeath as a gratuity to such master as shall take diligent and good care in instructing my said son while he shall be at school, £5.0.0 sterling upon such master producing a testimonial for any of the professors of the Civil Law in Edinburgh that he has carefully instructed my said son. Item, I desire that my son may be educated in the Protestant Religion according to the Established Church of Scotland.[314]

This will outlines a very strong tie to the institutions and religion of Scotland that Nicholson wished to impart to his minor son.

William Brown moved to the London Town area in the late 1740s. Later, he took over the town's main tavern and ferry operation from Stephen West who died in 1752. He was the father of two daughters and one son. In 1762 when his son William Brown, Jr., was ten years old he was sent to attend school in Scotland outside of Edinburgh. It is unclear if William attended the same Dalkeith school as Henry Hill but it is very likely.

Scope of International Trade

London Town's ties to London and Edinburgh were very strong. However, London Town and Anne Arundel County were involved with trading partners from all over the world. It is very difficult to outline other trading relationships involving London Town merchants. The primary materials (business journals of London Town merchants or complete Port of Annapolis records) simply have not survived. However, the *Maryland Gazette* is very useful for tracking the extent and frequency of trade with Annapolis throughout the maritime world. The

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[314] MSA AA Co. Probate Wills, Liber 20, folio 306: 1731- William Nicholson.

Maryland Gazette began reporting port of Annapolis shipping news in 1728.[315] Between 1728 and 1761 over 2,200 voyages were noted as entering or leaving the wharves of Annapolis for ports around the world. During the second quarter of the eighteenth century, ships came to Anne Arundel County from Africa, Europe, the Caribbean, Britain, and North and South America. Annapolis traded with 83 different ports located in 15 different countries. (Chart 5.2)

When the voyages are analyzed as a whole (all 2,212 records consisting of both voyages coming to and going from Annapolis) most of the trade appears to be intercolonial; 69% of the voyages involved ports in North America. However, when the regional ports are set aside the patterns of trade are predictable. When foreign ports are studied separately, over 60% of the ships that travelled to Annapolis were from Britain (England, Scotland, and Ireland). The majority of British ships come from ports in England (89%), as well as Scotland (8%) and Ireland (3%). The English ports of London (54%), Bideford (12%), and Bristol (9%) sent most of the ships. Over half of the voyages from Scotland came from Glasgow (56%). Aberdeen, Leith (the port of Edinburgh), Greenock (port of Glasgow), the Isle of May, and Montrose also sent ships to Annapolis. Vessels also travelled from the Irish ports of Cork (37%), Dublin (27%), Newry (27%), and Limerick (9%).

The Caribbean was home to one-third of the foreign ships (32%) with the

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[315] The *Maryland Gazette* was established in Annapolis in 1727 by William Parks and was printed sporadically during the late 1720s and 1730s. It was revived by Jonas Green in 1745. Members of the Green family published the newspaper until 1839. The Maryland State Archives has the newspaper on microfilm in collections M1007 and M1278-M1291 (microfilm reels). An extensive index was created by Karen M. Green and can be found in her work *The Maryland Gazette 1727-1761.* (Galveston, TX: Frontier Press, 1989). Both sources were used for this section. *Lost Towns* volunteer Mr. Bob Bombeck worked with the author to collect 2,212 voyage notices from 393 issues (21/12/1728 until 24/12/1761) of the *Maryland Gazette.* The records were entered into a database (designed by the author) by *Lost Towns* interns Amanda Bell (St. John's College, Annapolis) and Abby Mitchell (Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington) and the author.

Chart 5.2
Foreign Ports Trading with Annapolis from 1728 to 1761

Africa
- Gambia
- Guiney
- Port Louis

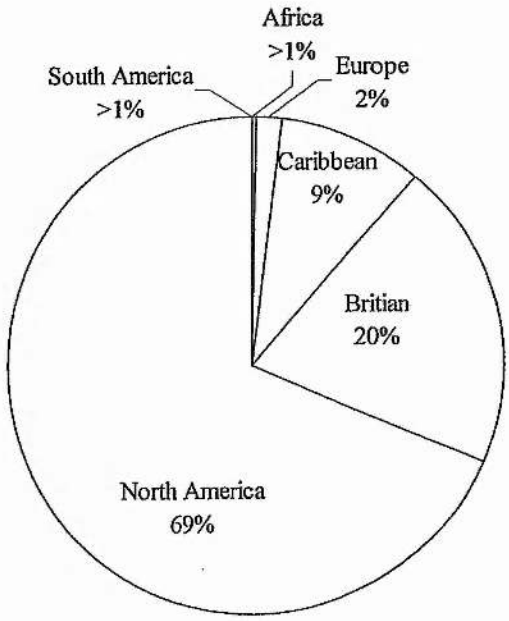
Europe
- Spain
  - Corona
  - Gibraltar
  - Lisbon
  - Port Mahon
  - Tenerife
- France
  - Bordeaux
  - Cowes
  - Dieppe
  - Marseilles
- Germany
  - Hamburg
- Italy
  - Genoa
- Netherlands
  - Amsterdam
  - Rotterdam
- Portugal
  - Madeira
  - Oporto

Caribbean
- Anguilla
- Antigua
- Barbados
- Bermuda
- Curacao
- Montserrat
- Jamaica
- Nevis
- St. Christopher's
- St. Eustatius
- St. Kitts
- St. Martin's
- Turks Island
- Virgin Islands

Britain
- England
  - Barnstable
  - Biddeford
  - Bonny
  - Bristol
  - Falmouth
  - Hampton
  - Leghorn
  - Liverpool
  - London
  - Penryn
  - Plymouth
  - Portsmouth
  - Waterford
  - Whitby
  - Whitehaven
  - York
- Ireland
  - Cork
  - Dublin
  - Limerick
  - Newry
- Scotland
  - Aberdeen
  - Glasgow
  - Greenock
  - Isle of May
  - Leith
  - Montrose

North America
- Amer. Colonies
  - Annapolis
  - Boston
  - Cape Anne
  - Delaware
  - Havre de
  - Grace
  - Nantucket
  - New Jersey
  - New London
  - New York
  - Newcastle
  - North Carolina
  - New Providence
  - Patuxent River
  - Philadelphia
  - Piscataqua
  - Rappahannock
  - Rhode Island
  - Salem
  - Severn River
  - South Carolina
  - Virginia
  - Yorktown
- Canada
  - Quebec
- Nova Scotia
  - Halifax

South America
- Surinam



From *Maryland Gazette,* Maryland State Archives newspapers on microfilm collections M1007 and M1278-M1291 and Karen M. Green, *The Maryland Gazette 1727-1761.* (Galveston, TX: Frontier Press, 1989). Ports from a database containing 2,212 voyage notices from 393 issues (21/12/1728 until 24/12/1761).

majority of voyages coming from Barbados (47%), Antigua (17%), and Bermuda (6%). The remaining foreign ships came from Europe (6% over all) from places such as Spain (52%), Portugal (21%), France (16%), Netherlands (5%), Germany (3%), and Italy (3%).

Statistically, Britain and Britain's colonies made up most of Maryland's trading partners during the colonial period. However, far away foreign ports are worth discussion due to their geographic location and contribution to trade. Few ships came directly to Annapolis from Africa but when they did their homeports were Gambia and Guiney (or Guinea) on the northwest coast and Port Louis on the island of Mauritius off the western coast. It is not known if vessels from Mauritius only carried slaves. The French ruled the island during most of the eighteenth century and the island's population was dominated by slaves who worked in the production of sugar cane.[316] The *Maryland Gazette* recorded eleven voyages from Africa to the Chesapeake from 1752 until 1761. Undoubtedly, these direct voyages represent slave trading. However, many slaving ships first visited the slave markets of the Caribbean before continuing to the colonies.

Voyages from Bordeaux, France, the port of Tenerife in the Canary Islands and Madeira (Portuguese Island), were likely due to their chief export, wine. London Town had direct links with the wine trade of Madeira through its native son Dr. Richard Hill. Captain William Strachan, a resident of London Town an employee of James Dick, traveled to the island in 1754. The Spanish Island of Minorca (also known for its wine) sent ships to Annapolis from Port Mahon in

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[316] See "History of Mauritius" on the official Government of Mauritius webpage: http://ncb.intnet.mu/govt/history (May 2003).

1746 and 1750.[317] The island colonies of the Caribbean were active trading partners. However, when one thinks of the Caribbean, the ports of Barbados, Bermuda, and Jamaica come to mind but trade involved nearly all of the islands in the region. In 1751 and again in 1752, ships traveled from Annapolis to Suriname on the northeastern coast of South America at the southern most part of the Caribbean region.[318] Unfortunately, the *Maryland Gazette* did not record the cargo or size of vessels trading at the port of Annapolis. Yet, their diverse origins show that Anne Arundel County merchants truly participated in global trade.

London Town was connected to the rest of the world through trade and the heritage of its residents. This is outlined through the trading relationships and by the choices involving the education of London Town's youth. Scots and those who valued Scotland's reputation for fine educational institutions chose to invest the future of their children with Scotland. Ships traveled from the depths of the Caribbean, the far side of Africa and the northern reaches of Britain to trade with Maryland merchants.

The Town and Trade

London Town was a port more than it was a town. It did not have its own government or church and its main function and activity was the exportation of tobacco and the importation of goods. With its many merchants focused on the tobacco trade, London Town was not representative of other towns (with church, mayor, court, jail, artisans) in the eighteenth century, it was a trading settlement. Nonetheless, its existence was very important to the economy of Anne Arundel

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[317] Port Mahon is part of the Balearic Islands and is located in the Western Mediterranean.

[318] Also known as Dutch Guyana.

County. It seems that the majority of the tobacco towns established by the 1683 town act faced the same impermanent nature (see chapters 2 and 3). A modern turn-of-phrase best describes London Town for the current reader; it was the light industrial park of the eighteenth century. A centre of commercial activity with few institutions and its "population" owning property in the town more than living there: it was a trading destination. Not until the late 1740s did the town have artisans, such as Alexander Ferguson, a tailor, stay maker and innkeeper, who moved to the town in 1748. With ready access to goods from London and beyond, as this section shows, artisans were not needed.

Nearly all London Town property owners, also owned adjacent plantations containing their dwelling houses and slaves quarters. The people who did live in the town were directly related to its existence; merchants, captains, service providers (tavern keepers, ferry keepers). A study of lifestyles and probate inventories of London Town's merchants and captains shows that from the first days of its existence London Town was poised to participate fully in the consumer-mercantile economy of the eighteenth century.[319]

London Town's most prosperous merchants and sea captains were involved in an economic web that was controlled by intermarriage and familial financial inter-dependence. Many of the land transactions in London Town were between family members. The prices paid in these interfamily transactions were usually very small.

Hard work and close family bonds cultivated by marriage and a good reputation were the means by which merchants procured business and made

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[319] For a detailed study concentrating on the probate inventories to London Town residents see: Mechelle L. Kerns, *London Town: The Life of A Colonial Town* (MA Thesis, University of Maryland Baltimore County) Unpublished, 1999.

money. The propagation of trade largely depended on the connection between financial credit and relations with friends and family, as documented in one historian's study of trade in colonial New England:

> Blood relationships between English suppliers and New England merchants were an exceptionally useful bond . . . If not related to their English creditors, the first New England importers must themselves have had previous experience in the business and to have left behind friendships and reputation which they could draw upon in attempting to finance their new ventures.[320]

The same situation held true in London Town, especially within families. For the most part, town property owners were not only neighbors but also relatives and business partners. Prominent merchants and captains in London Town would act as witnesses or securities in legal actions and, in some cases, the successful merchants would act as appraisers for probate inventories as well as creditors of the deceased. More often than not, the daughter of a merchant was married to a sea captain or another merchant. Consequently, this practice created many partnerships within the close-knit community. In many cases, the participants recorded in a transaction were all related. Familial alignments created by marriage often were suspended by death. This is not surprising, as the mortality rate in the colonial Chesapeake was very high. According to one historian, most Maryland marriages did not last more than seven years before one of the spouses died.[321] However, the practice of frequent remarriage within a limited geographic area often made for an extended network of alliances. Further, "the very frequency of remarriages served to strengthen ties within the locality and create ever-widening

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[320] Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 35.

[321] James Horn, *Adapting to a New World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 215.

circles of relation in the neighborhood."[322]

There were many family alignments among London Town property owners. Jane Mackelfish, daughter of tavern keeper and ferry master David Mackelfish, Sr., married John Burges, the son of William Burges, Sr. Jane West, the daughter of London Town innkeeper Stephen West Sr., married a mariner, Captain Anthony Beck. They lived in London Town for many years. Similarly, the daughter of merchant Patrick Sympson, Mary, married Captain William Strachan. Both mariners were immigrants to the town and benefited from their marital alignments. Merchant Anthony Stewart married the daughter of London Town's most prominent merchant, James Dick. Stewart not only became Dick's partner but also received a warehouse in London Town as a gift from his father-in-law. Merchant William Chapman married Rebecca, the daughter of London Town merchant Samuel Chambers. These marriages not only created new families in London Town, but also produced new business partnerships and commercial opportunities.

Mercantilism, combined with Maryland's colonial status, was an excellent basis for a consumer economy. Chesapeake Maryland (and Virginia) depended upon goods imported from England.[323] This was especially true during the early years of the colony. Not only were colonists without the means for large-scale production of textiles, ceramics and tools, but also the King's Board of Trade discouraged manufacturing such items in the colonies.[324] Essentially, the colonies were to produce raw materials; the mother country was to manufacture finished

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[322] Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 217.

[323] Margaret Shove Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689-1715* (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1917), 58-61.

[324] Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*, 24-25.

goods to sell to the colonies and elsewhere. This was to assure Britain's hold on the colonies. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, very few goods were manufactured in Maryland.

England's world trade connections provided the colonies with goods and materials from all over the globe: Spain, the Netherlands, Russia, China, and Africa. With the necessity of importation came the desire for greater variety. However, merchants in London Town were able to meet this demand for variety, at every level of society. The poor planters had tin and ironware in their inventories. Material for their clothes was often of the coarser and cheaper sort. In contrast, the wealthy planters, gentry and some members of the Chesapeake merchant class had brass household wares, as well as fine furniture and china. Their clothes were made from fine materials embellished with silver buttons and buckles for their shoes. Although the affluent did buy ozanbrig (coarse linen), it was not for themselves; it was used to make clothes for their slaves.[325]

London Town: Merchants and Merchandise

Throughout London Town's existence, a resident or visitor could find a wide variety of goods available for sale including such diverse items as: Persian silks, India Chince (chintz), red Morocco leather shoes, brass candlesticks, ship sails, pitchforks, nails, yard rugs, copper pots, spices and chocolate, just to name a few items. (See Appendix 5.) Even in the earliest days (from 1684 to 1689), William Burges, Sr., had a very well stocked warehouse. Samuel Peele dominated

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[325] For description of textiles and their uses see Appendix 3 based on Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America 1650-1870* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984). Ozanbrig was/is a type of very coarse linen fabric that originated in Osnabrück, Germany. Alternative spellings include ozenbrigs and osnaburg (OED).

the mercantile activity in the town from 1716 to his death in 1733. During that time, lesser merchants also were active in the town. Merchant William Nicholson owned two lots in London Town. When he died in 1719, he left them to his son William also a merchant. Little is known about merchant William Pearce. He purchased an unnamed lot in 1733, but sold it two years later.[326] Merchant Samuel Chambers was another London Town lot owner. He bought lot 33 from the Linthicums in 1718. When he died in 1728, he left the lot to his son-in-law, William Chapman, who was also a merchant.

During the first three decades of the eighteenth century, London Town had as many as six merchants operating in or through the town, though not at the same time. During the remainder of the eighteenth century, Thomas Canton, Joseph Hill, William Chapman and, especially, James Dick controlled the commerce in London Town. For the residents of London Town, necessary goods and coveted luxuries were never far away. Residents living in or near London Town did not need to travel to Maryland's capital of Annapolis to obtain household wares, textiles, kitchen items, clothing or imported (and exotic) foods and beverages. All of these goods were available in London Town and the selection was diverse. (See Appendices 3 and 5 for a detailed description of textiles available in London Town.)

When the founder of London Town, Colonel William Burges, died in 1687, he left an impressive estate.[327] His possessions included two storehouses (one located in London Town) and three plantations in addition to his home at "Burge." This house consisted of four main rooms with a cellar and outbuildings, including

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[326] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber IH&T1#1, folio 540; 1733 and MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber RD2, folio 259; 1735.

two kitchens (one old and one new), a milk house, and a cider house. His merchandise is of great interest as it shows what was available in London Town at the end of the seventeenth century. Merchandise made up 25% of his total inventoried estate. The majority of his merchandise was located at his store in London Town.

A significant proportion of these goods consisted of textiles, including broadcloth, kernsy, flannel, red silk, Norwick stuff, buckram, calico, cambric, linen (dyed, striped and speckled), Holland blew, Scotch cloth, Holland cloth, dowlars, and sheeting canvas. Burges kept a large supply of stockings, made of worsted and fine yarn, for women, children, boys, and girls, and a variety of shoes. His stock also included cookware, farm implements, hair combs, cutlery, shipbuilding material and tools, as well as soap and foodstuffs. Nearly 100 different types of merchandise were listed. This large quantity of wares suggests that his storehouse, perhaps the first in London Town, was indeed a large structure.

Another impressive array of merchandise can be found in the 1742 inventory of Captain John Dixon. His last voyage was as master of the *Milnor* and he had just arrived from London. He carried goods for merchant Isaac Milnor of London, England.[328] The ship was lying in the South River off London Town waiting to be unloaded when he died. Therefore, 81% of his estate consisted of merchandise meant for sale.[329] The *Milnor* was carrying textiles such as garlix (a type of fine linen), Irish linen, and Irish sheeting of the brown and white varieties, in total over 200 yards of fabric. Dixon also had ready-made clothes such as 15

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[327] MSA AA Co. Probate Will Liber 18, folio 89; 1687- William Burges.

[328] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber RD3, folio 144; 1739.

[329] MSA AA Co. Probate Inventory Liber 27, folio 232; 1742/3- John Dixon.

linen-and-cotton check shirts, men's thread and women's worsted stockings and worsted silk cloaks. There was a variety of hats (including flowered, felt, lace, and women's hats with ribbon) and shoes. He had shoes for boys, men's boots, and silk shoes for women. He also had some specialty items such as women's fans, wig irons, women's necklaces, 13 gross (1,872) of short tobacco pipes, ivory hair combs, five guns, and sleeve buttons. Household items as well as kitchenware were indicated in the inventory. Items such as looking glasses (one gilt with sconces), leather chairs, earthenware, teaspoons, knives and forks, butcher knives, iron pots with matching pot holders, and cork screws were available in London Town. Captain Dixon also imported foodstuffs, Bohea and green tea and sugar.[330] His inventory is particularly informative because it is not merely a collection of goods assembled in a warehouse over time, but one shipment recorded together as it arrived from London.

Captain Anthony Beck, another merchant in London Town, had nearly 50% of his assessed worth tied up in merchandise. Most of his goods consisted of textiles: lace, ozanbrig, dimothy, cambrick, ticking, chintz, linen, Holland check, green lasting, and calimancoes. Other merchandise included ready-made clothes such as thread stockings, silk and worsted stockings, and one dozen straw hats. He had ceramics: China bowls, 11 painted and ten flowered drinking cups, four sets of tea-wares, four dozen cups and saucers and earthenware. Beck carried tea and provisions for his customers, 129 lbs. of Bohea, 20 lbs. of green tea, and 33 gallons of brandy. Moreover, to furnish a dining table he had eight tablecloths, dozens of napkins, and 12 wineglasses.[331] He died at sea in 1749 while master of the ship

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[330] MSA AA Co. Probate Inventory Liber 27, folio 232; 1742/3 John Dixon.

[331] MSA AA Co. Probate Inventory Liber 43, folio 72; 1750 Anthony Beck.

Frances and Elizabeth as he was returning from Holland.[332]

Alexander Ferguson who was London Town's tailor for more than 25 years, died in 1770. He and his wife Elizabeth also were innkeepers for many years. Clearly, London Town's merchants provided supplies for both businesses. Ferguson's inventory of fabrics and leather goods shows that he was prepared to outfit his customers with a wide selection of fabrics and accessories. His textiles included fustian, duroy, blue serge, shag, coating, calico, broad cloth, shallon, linen, watered tabby, sarcenet, binding, and calimanco. He also had hundreds of buttons, thread, staves (for corsets and bodices), garters, tailor irons, shears (scissors) as well as all the materials and equipment to make many kinds of men's and women's shoes.[333]

London Town was home to other merchants but representative inventories of a few men show the volume and variety of goods imported into the small town. However, two other men played very important roles in the development of trade in London Town: Samuel Peele and James Dick.

Samuel Peele and James Dick, London Town Merchants

The most remarkable range of merchandise in London Town can be found in the inventory of merchant Samuel Peele. Samuel first came to the colony in 1716 and was a factor for his brother John Peele of London.[334] Buried in All Hallows Parish June 18, 1733, he appears to have died without a will and had no

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[332] *Maryland Gazette*, September 20, 1749.

[333] MSA AA Co. Probate Inventory Liber 106, folio 274; 1773 Alexander Ferguson.

[334] Cavrille V. Earle, *The Evolution of the Tidewater Settlement System: All Hollows Parish Maryland, 1650-1783* (Chicago: The Dept. of Geography Univ. of Chicago, 1975), 92.

relatives in the colony except his brother, William, who was also a merchant.[335] His detailed probate inventory, comprising three separate probate accounts, is evidence of the amount and diversity of goods available in the town. The first two sections list his personal and household possessions along with some 47 slaves. There is a separate inventory, which is approximately 650 lines long, of the goods in his storehouses. The amount of his merchandise was so substantial it was separated into 20 different categories: "Linen, Stuffs, Gloves, Persian Silks, Stockings, Button and Mohair, Stationary, Haberdashery of Small Wares, Saddles, Cutlery Ware, Hats, Pewter & Brass, Tin Ware, Iron Ware, Spices, Upholstery, Earthen Ware, Turnery, Sundry New Goods, and Grocery."[336] Each of the categories included multiple occurrences of numerous items. His inventory lists nearly 20 different types of fabric, each in several colors and designs. He also had ready-made clothes to outfit a man, woman, or child from head to toe. Most of the items of clothing were counted in dozens. There were other miscellaneous items such as 18 looking glasses, five gilt bibles, 15 gross of smoking pipes (2,160), dozens of packs of playing cards, 13 bridles, saddles for men and women, six sundials, 11 Jews harps, over 100 hats, hundreds of pairs of shoes, copper and pewter kitchenware, dozens of tools for the farm as well as artisans, and spices such as pepper, allspice, brown sugar and raw coffee. His inventory also listed three sloops, *Contrivance*, *Dolphin,* and *Fancy*. Samuel Peele owned six lots in London Town when he died and one of those was his dwelling and the location of his storehouse.[337] (See Appendix 5.)

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[335] Wright, *Church Records*, 47. And MSA AA Co. Probate Inventory Liber 18, folio 172; 1733.

[336] MSA AA Co. Probate Inventory Liber 10, folio 150-172; 1733- Samuel Peele.

[337] MSA AA Co. Deeds Liber SY1, folio 251; 1726/7.

James Dick was no stranger to the world of trade. His father, Thomas Dick, was the Dean of Guild in Edinburgh.[338] James was a member of Edinburgh's merchant guild before moving to Maryland in 1734 during the height of London Town's economic activity and the peak period of its population according to land records. (See Chapter 2.) The reason for his move was familial. His mother's brother, William Black, was a merchant in London, England who dealt with London Town merchants, including Samuel Peele. After the death of Peele in 1733, James Dick moved to the port and filled the trading void. William Black, who also owned property in London Town, continued to trade with the port town until the late 1740s.

Apparently, James Dick believed in advertising, because his business notices appeared frequently in the *Maryland Gazette*. These notices not only announced the sale of merchandise in Annapolis and London Town but also demonstrated his many roles in society. He was many times an executor, selling property for deceased associates, a member of a committee to raise money for the defense of the colony's hinterlands, and a lottery manager. His name first appears in 1734, when it seems that he landed and set up shop very quickly. On July 19, 1734, he advertised goods for sale in London Town at his storehouse between "Mr. West's and Mr. Wootton's ferries."[339] He returned to Scotland and England many times for business. After 1746, he is mentioned repeatedly in references to London Town and after 1747, he is mentioned almost monthly in the *Maryland Gazette*. He expanded his business to Annapolis in 1747 and, thereafter, most of his advertisements mentioned both of his stores.

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[338] David Dobson, *Directory of Scottish Settlers in North America*, vol. V (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1985), 68.

In his last *Maryland Gazette* advertisement in 1773, he offered goods for sale in London Town.[340] Previously, he placed many very detailed advertisements that listed all the goods he had available for sale. One such notice reflects its wartime content:

> Just imported in the *Betsey*, Capt. John White, from London, and to be sold by the subscriber at his stores in Annapolis and London Town, at reasonable rates, for ready money or short credit.
> Scarlet, blue, black and cloth colored Broadcloth, German Serges, Durggest, Yorkshire Cloths, Half-Thicks, Bearskins, Fearnoughts, embossed and white Flannels and Serges, Welsh Cottons, Horseman's Coats, Pea Jackets and other Slop Wares; short cloaks, Camblets, Shallons of all Colors, Callimancoes, Serge de Nisme, Duroys and Sagathies, Tammies, checked Barley Corns and other stuff, Norwich and Hat-band Crapes, Allopecis, Bombazeen, India Damasks, Taffaties, plain and striped Persians; Variety of India Chintz and printed Callicao, Muslin, white Calico, white Indian Dimothies, Table-cloths and Napkins, Irish Linen, and sheeting of all Kinds, Scots Holland, Russia Diaper and Twilling, Check Linens and Chilloes, striped Cottons, fine Jeans and dyed Fustians, Petticoat Dimothies, Bed-Ticks, striped Duffels, Blankets and Rugs of all Sorts, Pipes, Corks, Sifters, Varity of China, Glass, Earthen and Stone Ware , Brimstone, Rosin and Allom, exceeding good Green and Boheas Tea, Loaf Sugar, Florence Oil, Nails, Axes and other Ironware, Tin, Pewter, and Brassery Ware, Hats, Shoes, Salt Petre, Fig-Blue, Starch and Indigo, light Carbines, fitted with Bayonets, Slings and Cartouch-Boxes and Etc. Gunpowder, lead and all Sorts of Shot, Gun-Flints, Weston's Snuff, Ship Chandlery, Cables and all other sorts of Running and Standing Rigging, Anchors, Sail-Twine, deep Sea and other lines, Barbados Rum, and Muscavado Sugar, with a great Varity of Goods, not particularly mentioned.
> James Dick[341]

Dick not only dealt in goods from Britain but also sold slaves. In April of 1748, he advertised the sale of slaves at his store in Annapolis.[342] In February 1751, Dick advertised that he had slaves for sale in London Town. In May 1751, he teamed up with James Russell to advertise a "parcel of choice Negroes for sale

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[339] *Maryland Gazette*, July 19, 1734.

[340] *Maryland Gazette*, January 14, 1773.

[341] *Maryland Gazette*, July 1, 1756.

[342] *Maryland Gazette*, April 20, 1748.

board the Ship *Konlihan*, at Nottingham in Patuxent River."[343] This suggests Dick's involvement in a wider network of slave trading.

Sometime in the mid-1740s, James Dick established a partnership with young London Town native Stephen West, Jr., the son of London Town's tavern and ferrykeeper Stephen West, Sr.. In 1746, West collected debts for Dick while the latter was abroad. In addition, in 1747 Stephen West, Jr., appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* seeking to employ those who knew the art of spinning hemp. By 1748, Stephen West, Jr., had opened a ropewalk in London Town, undoubtedly with the help of James Dick (see chapter 7 for ropewalk in colonial Maryland). The same day, Dick advertised that he would sell rope at his store in London Town.[344] During the 1760s, they sold rope at the *London Town Manufactory,* as it was called. This is the first documented manufacturing at London Town besides small-scale boat building. Dick seems to have trained West in the ways of trade. West later left London Town and opened his own store in Prince George's County, west of Anne Arundel County.[345]

James Dick also had other partners: two of whom married Dick's daughters. Dick's oldest daughter Mary was born in Edinburgh in 1732 and moved to London Town with her mother (Margaret Dundas) in 1741.[346] In 1759, she married a Galloway Scot named David McCulloch, a merchant based in the town of Joppa in Baltimore County, Maryland. Unfortunately, he died in 1766 leaving Mary pregnant and with three small children.[347] Mary and her children

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[343] *Maryland Gazette*, May 1, 1751.

[344] *Maryland Gazette*, May 11, 1748.

[345] Prince George's County was established in 1694.

[346] Wright, *Church Records*, 57.

[347] Wright, *Church Records*, 57.

moved back to London Town to live with her father. Dick's second daughter, Jean, married another Scottish merchant, Anthony Stewart in 1764.[348] This union was the genesis of the firm of *James Dick & Stewart.* The Newington Ropewalk in Annapolis, just one of the enterprises of *Dick & Stewart*, was opened in 1765.[349]

James Dick lived at his plantation *Scorton* adjacent to London Town until his death in 1782. During his almost 50 years as a merchant in the town, he established many relationships, both public and private. Of the 30 London Town residents studied for this work, James Dick was involved in the probate records of eight. He was listed as a creditor of Captain Thomas Canton, Alexander Ferguson, Captain Thomas Gassaway, Captain William Strachan, and William Wootton. He appraised the inventories of both Captain Anthony Beck and Captain John Dixon, and he was a witness to the will of Stephen West, Sr. Further, he dealt with the probate of residents outside of London Town. On many occasions, property he was put in charge of as an executor or creditor was advertised for sale at his stores in Annapolis and London Town.

From James Dick's personal probate accounts, it is clear to see that he was an established businessman. His list of "good debts" or those considered collectable included 42 individuals. Most of the debtors lived in Anne Arundel County, mainly in the Annapolis, London Town, and West River areas, though a few were from Baltimore, Virginia, and Philadelphia. Three entries on this list are very telling of Dick's wealth. His company of *James Dick & Stewart* owed his

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[348] Wright, *Church Records*, 57. Anthony Stewart 's family was from Edinburgh. He was a loyalist during the Revolutionary War and was disinherited by Dick when he abandoned his daughter while fleeing the colony.

estate over £3000 sterling, the highest amount over all. The defunct merchant company of John Buchanan of London, England, Dick and Stewart's largest supplier of goods, owed £720.10.7 sterling. The third largest debt owed to James Dick's estate (in 1784) was £675.8.8 sterling listed for "William Brown, London Town."[350] This debt represented the cost of building Brown's large brick house at London Town (c.1764). (See Figure 4.2.) The executors of James Dick's estate attempted to collect Brown's debts for the next decade. There was also a list of 38 people recorded as "desperate debtors," or debts considered unlikely to be collected. The overall amount of desperate debt was very small, only a few hundred pounds. This inventory which listed over 80 debtors, was written at the end of Dick's life, after he had been retired for many years. There is little doubt that his lending practices would have been more vigorous during the time he operated his stores in London Town and Annapolis.

In January 1776, Dick posted a notice in the *Maryland Gazette* that the partnership of *James Dick and Stewart* was dissolved and asked those indebted to him to settle their accounts.[351] Thereafter, he retired to the quiet life of a grandfather in London Town. James Dick's inventory suggests that he was comfortable during his retirement, though it does not provide lists of merchandise as other merchants had at their deaths. His inventory can be divided into two sections: slaves and personal goods. Ninety percent of his total assessed inventory consisted of 37 slaves: eight were listed as either rope-makers or spinners, two as

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[349] Jason D. Moser, "Ropewalks in the Eighteenth Century: The Structure of an Early Chesapeake Industry" (Unpublished: MA Thesis Univ. of Maryland Baltimore County, 1998), 59. London Town's Captain William Strachan was also partner in this venture; see his will. Duke University owns the James Dick & Stewart Company Letter Book 1773-1781 (Special Collections Library Call # 494-01-2). This collection describes many of their late trade connections.

[350] MSA AA Co. Probate Accounts Liber TG1, folio 142; 1784- James Dick.

cooks.[352] Two other personal items stand out to show how he occupied his leisure time: his books and his "chariot" (carriage) . The most valuable item in his inventory besides his many slaves was his "Libra of Books."[353] Many other London Town residents owned books and bibles but only James Dick had a "libra" or library.

James Dick was the most important and longest established merchant in London Town and he lived a long life.[354] He was a prolific businessman involved in many ventures. He promoted manufacturing in the county (the London Town ropewalk) and his many newspaper advertisements show the scale of his trade. The fact that Dick operated stores in Annapolis and London Town at the same time shows that London Town did not necessarily compete with the capital for commerce. London Town served the southern part of Anne Arundel County as well as the surrounding counties to its west and south. Essentially, it was the gateway for commerce for the lower half of Anne Arundel County and the growing sections of Maryland's Western Shore.

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear from studying the lives and inventories of the merchants, captains and other residents of London Town that it was more a commercial trading center than a traditional town. It was established specifically for the advancement of

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[351] *Maryland Gazette*, January 13, 1776.

[352] The probate inventory of James Dick listed skilled slaves, ropemaking, and spinning equipment. The equipment is noted as being owned by James Dick and Stewart and was subtracted from Dick's inventory assessment. This may show that the London Town Ropewalk still was making rope on some scale as the skilled slaves and equipment were both located in London Town in 1783.

[353] MSA AA Co. Probate Inventory Liber TG1, folio 145; 1783- James Dick

trade as part of Britain's world wide mercantile system. Goods from all over the world were being imported and resold through the town. There were fine goods, fit for a wealthy planter's wife and ozanbrig and fearnoughts commonly used for slave clothing. Household items and farm tools were also plentiful. Those patronizing London Town could stock their kitchens with food and drink, their closets with clothes, and adorn their tables with linen, fine napkins and glassware: just as their fellow Britons in the town's namesake. These imported goods are an indication of the lifestyle desired and achieved by many of the merchants and residents. The merchandise helps to illustrate its purchasers. The goods coming to London Town were not only supplies for a frontier settlement but also luxuries for plantation owners and people of some means. However, London Town lacked elements of a traditional town such as a church, artisans (until after the late 1740s), or a governing body.

Personal relationships within London Town were often tied to trade. This can be seen in the intermarriage of local families involving merchants and sea captains as well as marriages with overseas trading partners. The business of London Town permeated all parts of the resident's lives.

The volume and value of goods noted in just a few probate inventories indicate the scale of trade in London Town. Although the record is not complete, it shows that London Town was not an isolated or backward outpost but was the destination for prearranged large-scale trade, exchanging tobacco for manufactured goods. London Town may not have been an administrative center for commerce, as was Annapolis, but it clearly was an active port that was very important to

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[354] James Dick came to Maryland in 1734 as a married man. He died in 1782; likely 70 years old.

economic growth in Anne Arundel County during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. This study of London Town helps to describe Maryland's role in colonial transatlantic trade as a viable and active participant in Britain's mercantile system. Was London Town typical of the other tobacco towns of colonial Maryland? The answer to this pressing question remains unclear until other detailed studies provide data for comparison. However, as outlined in Chapter 3 many of London Town's contemporaries are also gone, suggesting they faced the same challenges to longevity.

Chapter 6: Anne Arundel County and Maritime Trade

London Town and the other tobacco town established by the 1683 town act were designed to promote the tobacco trade. However, economy activities involving goods other than tobacco depict localized economic trends which were in some cases tied to the tobacco trade, while others were deviations from the cash-crop mercantile model promoted by the Board of Trade.

The South River was London Town's reason for existence. Nearly seven miles in length, it was navigable up to London Town for ships of 160 tons.[355] The port, just about two and a half miles up river from the Chesapeake Bay, juts out into South River on a mushroom-shaped peninsula with navigable creeks on either side. In addition to being a ferry crossing and the only town with services for those living in the southern part of the county or on the western frontier of Maryland, London Town was a natural choice as a location for docking ships taking on tobacco from the area south of Annapolis.

Ships leaving the county with newly-loaded cargo and tobacco had to go to Annapolis to 'clear' with the Naval Officer, who was responsible for recording the particulars of each ship including its size, country of origin, owner, captain, and the amount and value of all cargo aboard. Maryland had six maritime regions during the colonial period: Annapolis, Cecil, North Potomac, Oxford, Patuxent, and Pocomoke.[356] (Figure 6.1) London Town was located in the Annapolis region. In most cases, ships were loaded with cargo on one of the county's six main rivers

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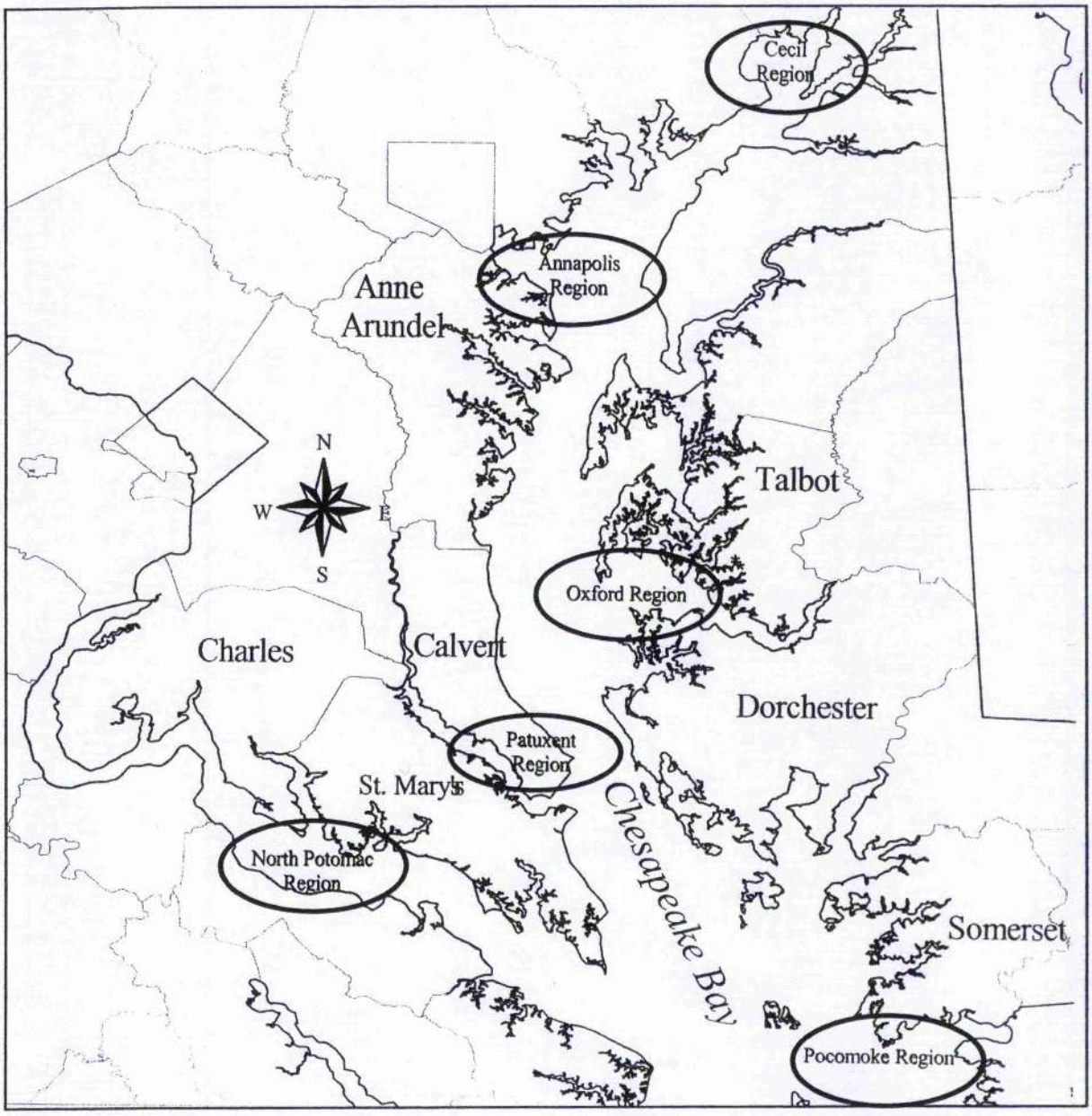
[355] In 1754 the snow *Beaumont*, James Hovell, Master was moored in the South River waiting the ship with tobacco. From the PRO, Port of Annapolis Records T1.355/60, Mid-Summer Quarter, 1754.

[356] Edward C. Papenfuse, et al. *Archives of Maryland, Historical List*, vol. 1 (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1990).

Figure 6.1
Maritime Regions in Colonial Maryland



(from north to south: the Patapsco, Magothy, Severn, South, West, and Patuxent) and then, continued to Annapolis for clearing. (Figure 6.2) Planters would move their tobacco to the nearest lading area via a rolling road (path designed to handle hogsheads of tobacco that were rolled to the desired location) or on small boats. In London Town, as in many other ports, factors had warehouses in which to store the hogsheads of tobacco until sale and transport to England and beyond.[357] Ship captains were required to set a price for transporting tobacco and to record that price with the county court as well as to post it on the door of the courthouse in Annapolis.[358] In the case of London Town, a ship would anchor in the South River and the master advertised his price (often in the *Maryland Gazette*) for transportation of tobacco (in pounds sterling per ton). Vessels often remained in one river until full of cargo and ready to sail.

Patterns of Trade & Growth: Anne Arundel County

Between the period of 1705 until 1762, more than 585 voyages were made by hundreds of ships to Anne Arundel County to transport tobacco.[359] Thirty-eight

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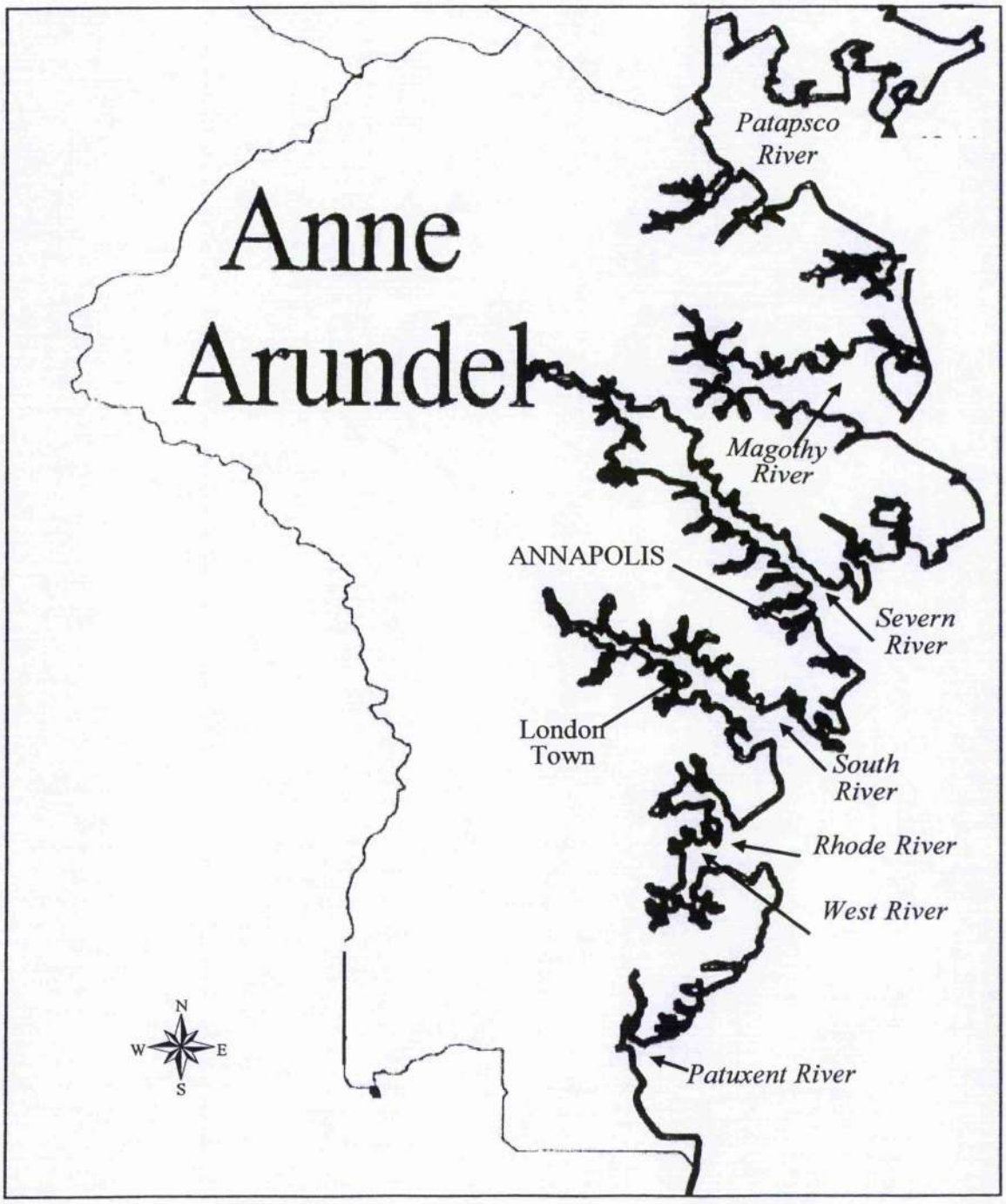
[357] After 1747, the Maryland Assembly passed a regulation that required planters to use sanctioned tobacco inspection warehouses to store their tobacco until it was shipped to Britain. This was an attempt to improve the quality of Maryland tobacco. This act was not implemented immediately and there are very few primary records to show compliance. See Archives of Maryland, *Acts and Proceedings of the Assembly* 44: 454.

[358] This practice was codified by 1704. "Masters of ships, before they take in any tobacco on freight, shall publish, under their hands, by a note fixed on the county court-house door, at what rate they will receive tobacco upon freight per ton; which note shall be record by the county clerk." See Archives of Maryland, 75: 668. For unknown reasons, these records appear in the Anne Arundel County Land Records under no heading, with no regularity.

[359] This record set is from the Maryland State Archives, Land Records Office, Provincial Court 1705-1762. Ship captains were required to record, with the court, their tonnage rate for tobacco. Each record lists the ship name, the captain's names, his freight rate, as well as the river location of his ship. The captains would stay in the river until the ship was full. See data set compiled by Jacob M. Hemphill in "Tobacco Freight Rates in the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1705-1762," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 55 (1959): 36-58. Hemphill used the data to track freight rate for tobacco. The author used the same data to trace the number of ships to each river in Anne Arundel County to show patterns of shipping in the county.

Figure 6.2
Anne Arundel County's River System



percent of all the ships (231) came to South River and London Town. The Severn River to the north of London Town (the location of Annapolis) received 20% and voyages to the West River, south of London Town, made up 13% of the tobacco shipping in the county. Baltimore, came in third with substantially fewer (87) vessels taking on tobacco.[360] However, after 1750, Baltimore's trade grew and eventually surpassed that of both Annapolis and London Town.

The volume of shipping for London Town shows the commercial vitality of the small town and the level of tobacco production in the immediate area. Charts 6.1 and 6.2 show that the South River attracted the largest number of ships looking for tobacco. Furthermore, they indicate the areas of commercial activity in the county. It is clear that London Town and Annapolis combined to form a belt of economic activity in Anne Arundel County.

The development of already existing areas similar to London Town (such as Annapolis) by way of economic expansion via population growth created new markets and affected the town's growth enormously. The towns involved in trade supported the growth of their surrounding areas, thus increasing the market for the town. This created and sustained an evolving interchange between the mother country and its colony, producing new markets and expanding old ones.

Marylanders were preoccupied with the production of tobacco, as it was one of few means by which they could obtain both necessities and luxuries. British manufacturers experienced a rise in demand for household goods, clothing, and farm implements as the colony grew. The rate of growth for the population of the

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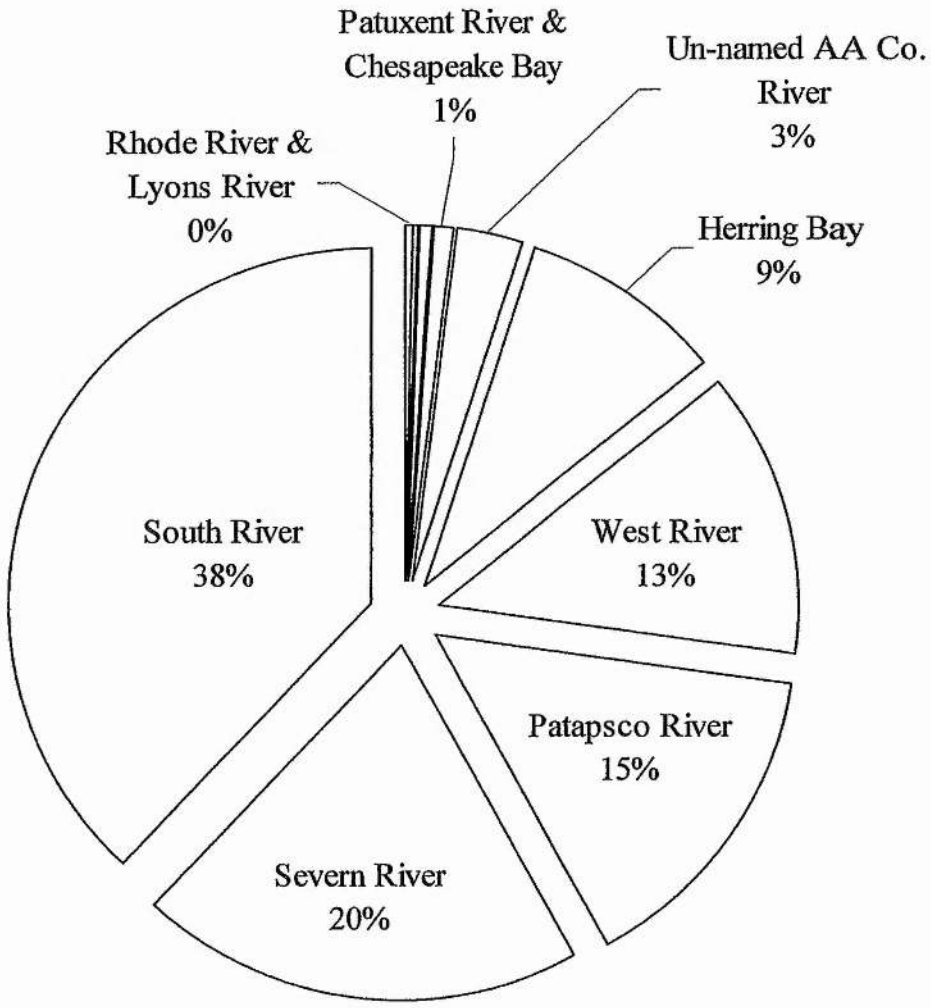
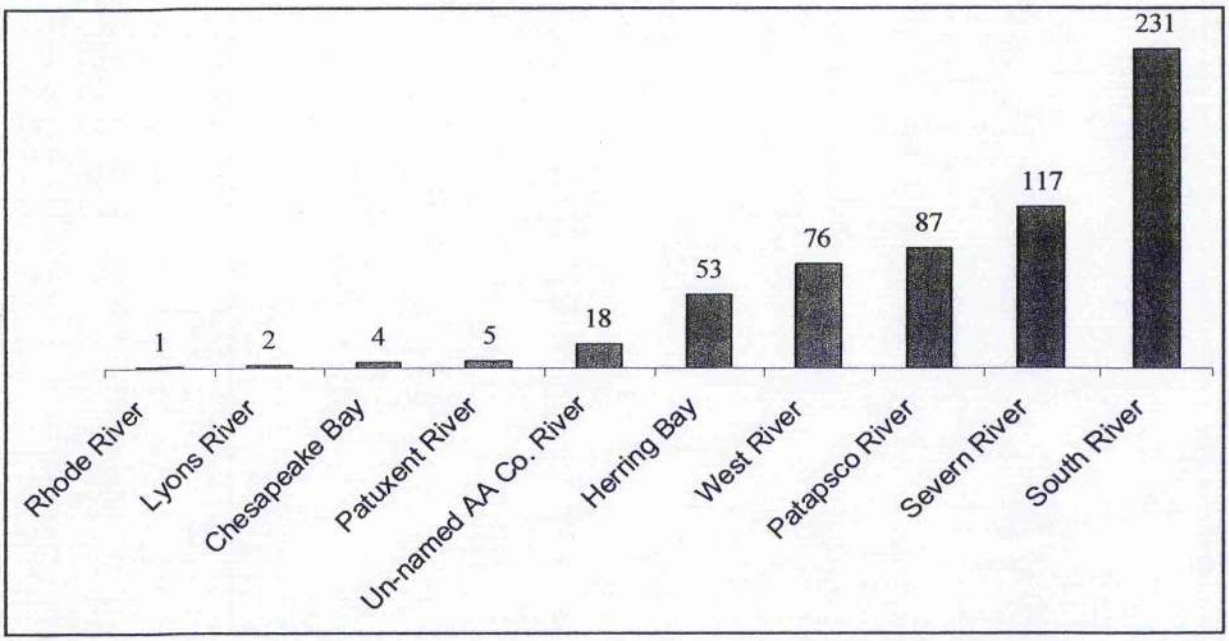
[360] Baltimore was not strictly a tobacco port and by the 1750s, its economy was beginning to shift to concentrate on the exportation of wheat and flour. The city provided Pennsylvania farmers with mills and transportation for their goods to the islands. For more on the history of Baltimore see: Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore, The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

Chart 6.1
Trade Voyages to Anne Arundel County
from 1705 to 1762



Total of 585 voyages to Anne Arundel County during the period. The date and location of ships in each river come from Maryland State Archives, Provincial Court, Land Records Office 1705-1762. Complied by Jacob M. Hemphill in "Tobacco Freight Rates on the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1705-1762." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 55 (1959) :36-58. Hemphill was tracing the cost of tobacco shipping. The author used this data to calculate number of ships trading in Anne Arundel County during the 18th century.

Chart 6.2
Number of Voyages to Each
Anne Arundel County River
from 1705 to 1762



The dates and locations of ships in each river come from Maryland State Archives, Provincial Court, Land Records Office 1705-1762. Complied by Jacob M. Hemphill in "Tobacco Freight Rates on the Maryland Tobacco Trade 1705-1762" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 55 (1959):36-58.

colonies overall was explosive. It has been described as unchecked growth, doubling almost every 25 years.[361] With this rate of growth, the level of imports into the colony increased and "foreign trade grew substantially during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century."[362] Participating in this wider trend, steady growth was experienced in London Town and throughout the colony from roughly 1700 to 1748. One way this growth in trade can be tracked is by the number of ships visiting the South River.[363] (See Chart 6.2.)

The first half of the eighteenth century saw a dramatic increase in population (see Chapter 2). Maryland's population totaled 46,159 by 1712; 155,363 in 1755 and 319,728 by 1790. This increase in population made for commercial expansion, of both imports and exports, and market growth. The colonies saw a peak in imports in 1749 and experienced moderate increases in trade growth until 1755, the beginning of the Seven Years War.[364] The war affected both exportation and importation. Imports soon began to rise again, peaking in 1760 and then falling slightly between 1760 and 1765. Import rates grew again in 1768 but did not return to the level of 1760. During 1769, there was a dramatic decrease in imports due to the non-importation agreements. These intercolonial trade agreements were in response to Parliament's attempt to generate revenue, to offset expense of war, by imposing new taxes on the colonies. Imports were suppressed until the repeal of some taxes led to the reversal of the non-importation agreements in 1771, at which time imports reached their highest level

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[361] Gary M. Walton and James F. Shepherd, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 31.

[362] John J. McCusker & Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 39.

[363] For London Town this is also reflected in the land records.

[364] Shepherd and Walton, *Economic Development*, 37 and 246.

for the colonial period. The period from 1771 to 1775 saw another small decline and then trade nearly stopped in 1775 when the non-importation agreements were enacted again (see Chapter 8 for the effects of the American Revoluition on trade in Anne Arundel County and London Town).[365] This cycle of economic contraction and growth is reflected in the number of ships visiting London Town each year. (Chart 6.3)

The majority of Maryland's Orinocco tobacco was re-exported to France and Holland (i.e., the Dutch).[366] War with France sharply curtailed trade and thus depressed the economy of the Chesapeake (see Chapter 8 for challenges to the tobacco trade). This is demonstrated by the fluctuation in the number of ships that called on Anne Arundel County and the South River area for tobacco each year. London Town's longest (and only) period of sustained growth occurred during the period between the end of Queen Anne's War (1713) and the beginning of the War of Austrian Succession (1740).[367] Although Britain had a monopoly on the tobacco trade, very little of the "sot weed" was consumed in the kingdom.[368] During this 28-year period, 150 ships took on tobacco in the South River. This is 68% of the shipping for the period as a whole (from 1705 to 1762). The average was over five

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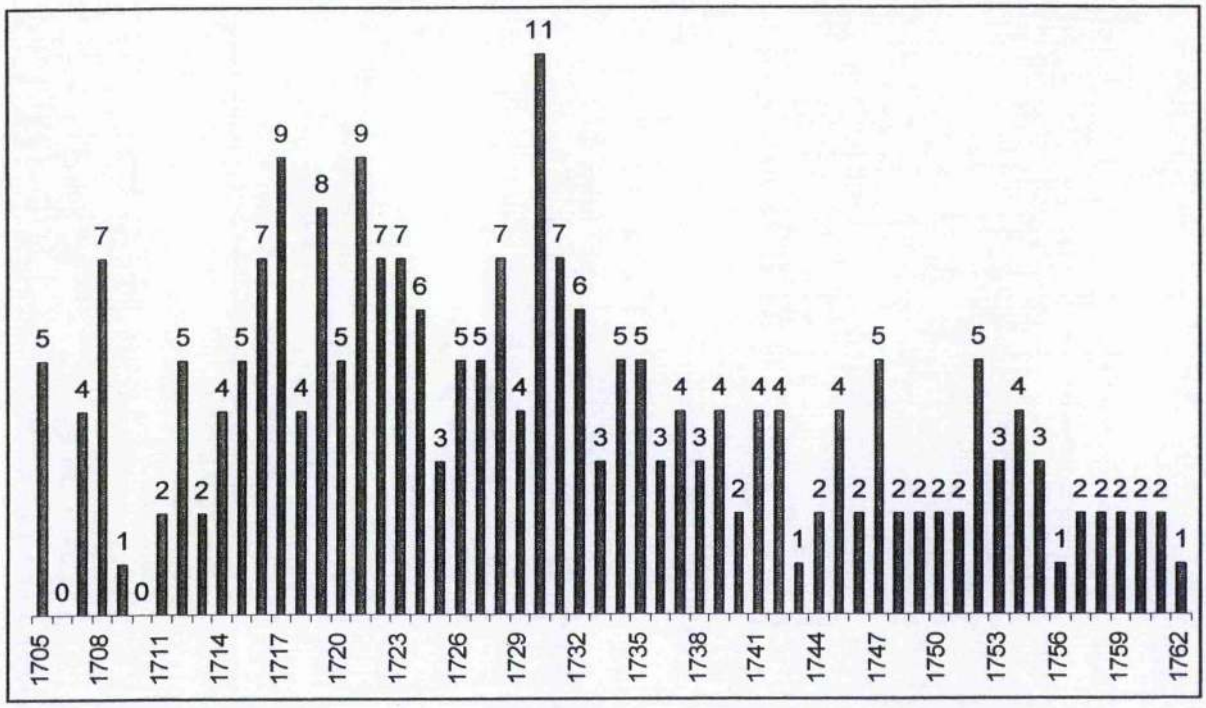
[365] Shepherd and Walton, *Economic Development*, 37-38.

[366] Jacob M. Price, "The Economic Growth of the Chesapeake and the European Market, 1797-1775," *Journal of Economic History* 24 (December 1964) : 500-501.

[367] Queen Anne's War 1702-1713 was also known as the War of Spanish Succession (England vs. Spain and France). The War of Austrian Succession 1740-1748, also known as King George's War in North America (1744-1748) pitted the Hapsburg Empire along with England and Austria against Prussia, Bavaria, France, and Spain. The Seven Years War was known in North America as the French and Indian War (1754-1763); Britain vs. France.

[368] "Sot weed" was a negative term for tobacco. The word sot is associated with an altered state of consciousness or drunkenness: "One who dulls or stupefies himself with drinking; one who commonly or habitually drinks to access." (OED) The term is attributed to Ebenezer Cook from his early 18th-century poem *The Sot-weed Factor or a Voyage to Maryland. A Satyr*. (London: B. Bragg, 1708) in which he chronicles a trip to colonial Maryland and the main character's interactions with Sot-weed factors or tobacco merchants and planters.

Chart 6.3
Number of Ships Awaiting Freight in the
South River from 1705 to 1762



The dates and locations of ships in each river come from the Maryland State Archives, Provincial Court, Land Records Office 1705-1762. Compiled by Jacob M. Hemphill in "Tobacco Freight Rates in the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1705-1762," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 55 (1959) :36-58.

ships per year with the highest number of ships (11) visiting London Town in 1730.

In the subsequent 22 year period (from 1740 to 1762), only two or three ships visited London Town per year. Furthermore, during the Seven Years War (from 1756 to 1763), only one or two ships visited the South River per year. These patterns of shipping during war years show that the tobacco trade in Anne Arundel County was affected by conflict. (See Charts 6.3 and 6.4 for a comparison of number of ships per year and the years of war and peace.)

In addition to being a contributing factor to the American Revolution, restrictions on trade as a result of taxation by the British Parliament negatively affected maritime commerce in the colonies. Attempts by Britain's Parliament headed by Prime Minister George Grenville to alleviate debts incurred during war, resulted in restrictions on trade via taxes and tariffs on goods. This, in turn increased the price of goods, affecting the profits of both British and colonial merchants.

These restrictions were both imposed and self-inflicted. Under Grenville, Britain further tightened its reins on the American colonies. First, he sent the Royal Navy to police and restrict smuggling in the American Colonies. Then with the Proclamation of 1763, Grenville forbade white settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains (west of the colony of Virginia).[369] In 1764, Grenville used the Sugar Act (or Revenue Act) to help fill Britain's coffers by imposing duties on sugar and other imported goods. Also in 1764, America was encumbered with the Quartering Act, which required colonists to house and support British

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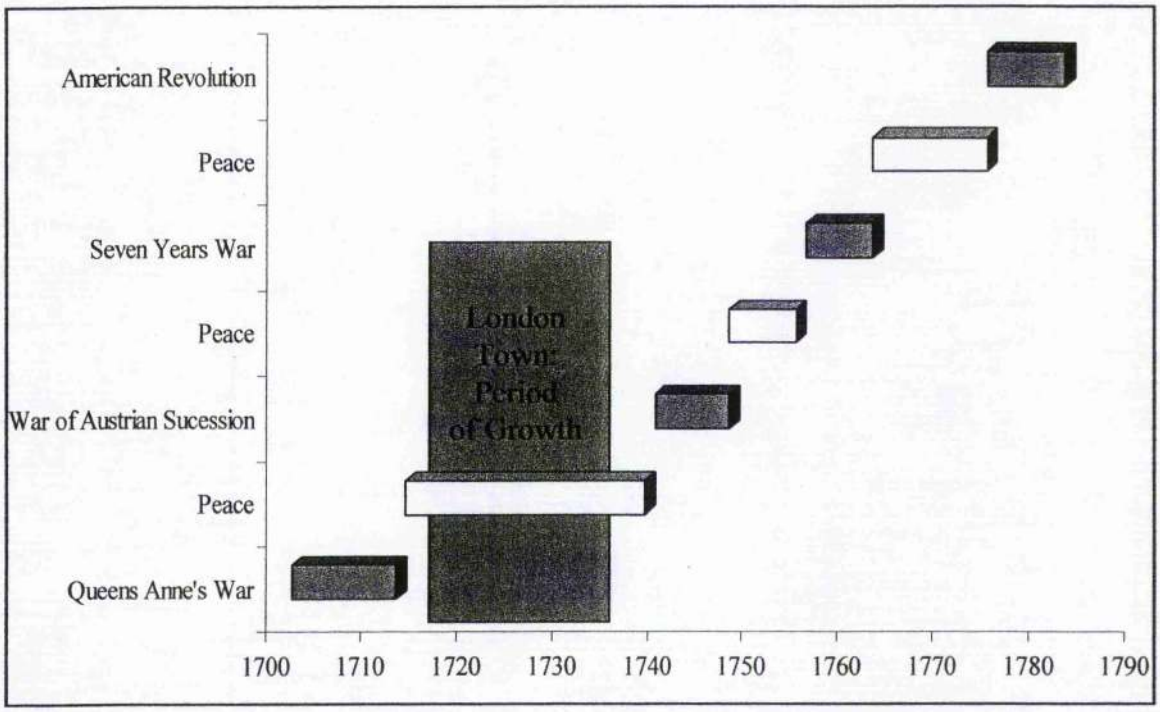
[369] Steven E. Woodworth, *The Essentials of United States History: 1500-1789* (New Jersey: Research & Education Association, 1998), 48.

Chart 6.4
Periods of Peace and War During the Eighteenth Century



From: Steven E. Woodworth, *The Essentials of United States History: 1500-1789* (New Jersey: Research & Education Association, 1998).

troops. This was unprecedented as the colonies had their own localized militias for protection. These new regulations, and their unprecedented enforcement, were restrictive and exacting but future acts affected the sovereignty of each colony resulting in open rebellion.

In 1764, Britain's Parliament passed the Currency Act, which forbade the colonies from producing their own currency.[370] The colonies were already specie poor due to commodity-based trade, such as tobacco for goods, and very little cash changed hands in these transactions. This Act caused a drain on the circulating currency, but the Act with the most far-reaching effects and consequences was the 1765 Stamp Act.[371] This was the first direct tax that affected the majority of colonists, as newspapers, legal documents and licenses could only be issued on special "stamp paper" sold and distributed by British appointed stamp collectors. This tax drew strong criticism and protest from the colonies and ultimately spurred the colonists to embrace a policy of non-importation with the hope of having the taxes repealed. The tax was so unpopular that many British stamp collectors resigned in fear of retaliation. Non-importation of British goods proved to be a strong weapon. In 1766, the Stamp Act was repealed, but not before it had caused an economic downturn in the colonies as it temporarily brought trade to a standstill.

London Town experienced all these changes, both positive and negative, in its economy during most of the eighteenth century and was dependent on a strong British economy. The profits earned by Britons (including Scots) involved in colonial trade provided the investment capital that funded one of the most

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[370] Woodworth, *Essentials of United States History*, 49.

important periods of British economic growth.[372] However, economic contraction caused by the Revolutionary War, delivered a final blow to an already weak trading environment. London Town was affected by all these factors and, by the end of the American Revolution, faced a steep decline in trade and an end to growth. (See Chapter 8 of this work.)

Economic patterns in London Town clearly were affected by disruptions in trade, but they were affected also by the growth of other commercial areas, which drew trade away from the South River region. The growth of Baltimore was one element that contributed to the decline of trade in London Town and Anne Arundel County as a whole. During the period in which London Town experienced its most growth, Baltimore was a small town, a sleepy confluence of fallways and streams, which powered the local grain mills. It eventually evolved into one of the most important shipping ports in the United States. Baltimore was laid out in 1730, but remained relatively idle for the next 20 years. By 1752, it was still little more than a village with only 25 houses.[373] All of Baltimore County had fewer than 800 tithables (or taxable labourers, usually heads of household): the total population was about 3,000.[374] However, Baltimore soon would show its potential. Its naturally deep harbour and proximity to Pennsylvania farmers would provide the fuel for sustained growth and "between 1752 and 1774, the number of houses in

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[371] Stephen Conway, *The War of American Independence: 1775-1783* (London: Edward Arnold, 1995), 5.

[372] John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 41.

[373] Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1997),1.

[374] Olson, *Baltimore*, 4. Tithable: individual heads of household who were subject to payment of the tithe (usually 10% of their income or worth) to support the church. In the colonies, these were usually freemen landholders with plantations.

increased from 25 to 564."[375] Its port was developed, fed by business from Pennsylvania grain farmers, and fostered by growth of Baltimore's many wheat and corn mills. Quaker and Pennsylvania Dutch farmers who used Baltimore for its mills and shipping inhabited this area. Their most important crop was wheat. When the tobacco market began to flounder due to war and price inflation, Baltimore continued to ship milled wheat and corn and began to absorb all other shipping, thus, doing away with the need for small tobacco port towns such as London Town.

PORT OF ANNAPOLIS RECORDS

Much of the study of Maryland concentrates on the exportation of tobacco to England. However, tobacco was not the only money-generating item Maryland produced. Cargo records generated by Naval Officers listed the goods that came and went from the Annapolis shipping region. Although tobacco was the primary commodity, foodstuffs, such as corn and wheat grown in Maryland's fertile soil, as well as its natural resources, such as wood, iron, and animal hides, prominently appear on the ship manifests.

A study of the economy of London Town and Anne Arundel County is not complete without an analysis of the shipping records from the Port of Annapolis. These show what came into the county and what was being exported from the area. Any ship loaded in London Town had to venture the five or so miles by water to Annapolis to clear customs. However, the records are scattered (some in Maryland, others in England) and many years are missing. Research into the

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[375] Olson, *Baltimore*, 10.

history of the British Customs service has found that:

> Many of the official records were lost or destroyed during the hectic days of the Revolution. Most of the remainder was consumed in a fire in that Plantation Wing of the London Customs House in 1814. Consequently, there exists today no convenient, unified source of information in the (customs) service.[376]

Accidental destruction is not the only culprit for the dearth of customs data. Although the system of recording shipping activity was established in 1676, it went through many phases of revision. It took time to develop and initiate in England. It took even longer to institute in the colonies. It is very likely that records are lacking for the period 1696 until 1710 due to a revamping of the records and collection system.[377] However, by 1710 the administrative system was deemed efficient enough to require no further revisions until the 1760s.[378] The lack of records for Maryland is surprising, since Maryland and Virginia had the highest number of customs officials. Maryland's customs collectors were located at Patuxent, North Potomac, and Pocomoke rivers. Customs surveyors were located at Annapolis (the capital), Wicomocco (also spelled Wicomico), and Munni, Williamstadt, Bahama and Sassafras Rivers, and a riding surveyor oversaw the Potomac River.[379] Regardless of official coverage, many factors led to a large backlog and interference in the customs service. The customs administrators were in far away England, and many local officials were left to their own devices, with very little or no official oversight. Furthermore, war and its associated confusion

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[376] Thomas C. Barrow, *Trade and Empire: The British Customs Service in Colonial America, 1660-1775* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), vii.

[377] Barrow, *Trade and Empire*, 60.

[378] Barrow, *Trade and Empire*, 72.

[379] Barrow, *Trade and Empire*, 73. Munni was also known as Monie, Willliamstadt was later changed to Oxford and remains so today.

of administrative tasks led to poor management. There were only six years of peace between 1739 and 1763. This wartime state hampered trade and confused record keeping and the processes of custom collections.[380] (Figure 6.3) For many reasons the gaps are numerous, but at least the trade of the county can be outlined. The story, from the records of Annapolis, helps to provide a view of commerce in the area immediately surrounding London Town.

DATA ON ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY TRADE

Shipping data from Anne Arundel County must be retrieved from the Port of Annapolis records. The records were transcribed and entered into a database to analyze the cargo coming and going at the Port of Annapolis. The data are from reports made by the Naval Officers. These reports were assembled each quarter and sent to London to the Board of Plantations and, eventually, to the Treasury. The data set used for this study encompasses 511 voyages to or from Annapolis during the period from 1754 to 1761.[381] However, not all administrative quarter records were preserved.[382]

Of the 511 voyages, 146 were clearing the port and 365 were entering the port. Two hundred and twenty different vessels (manned by 285 masters) made

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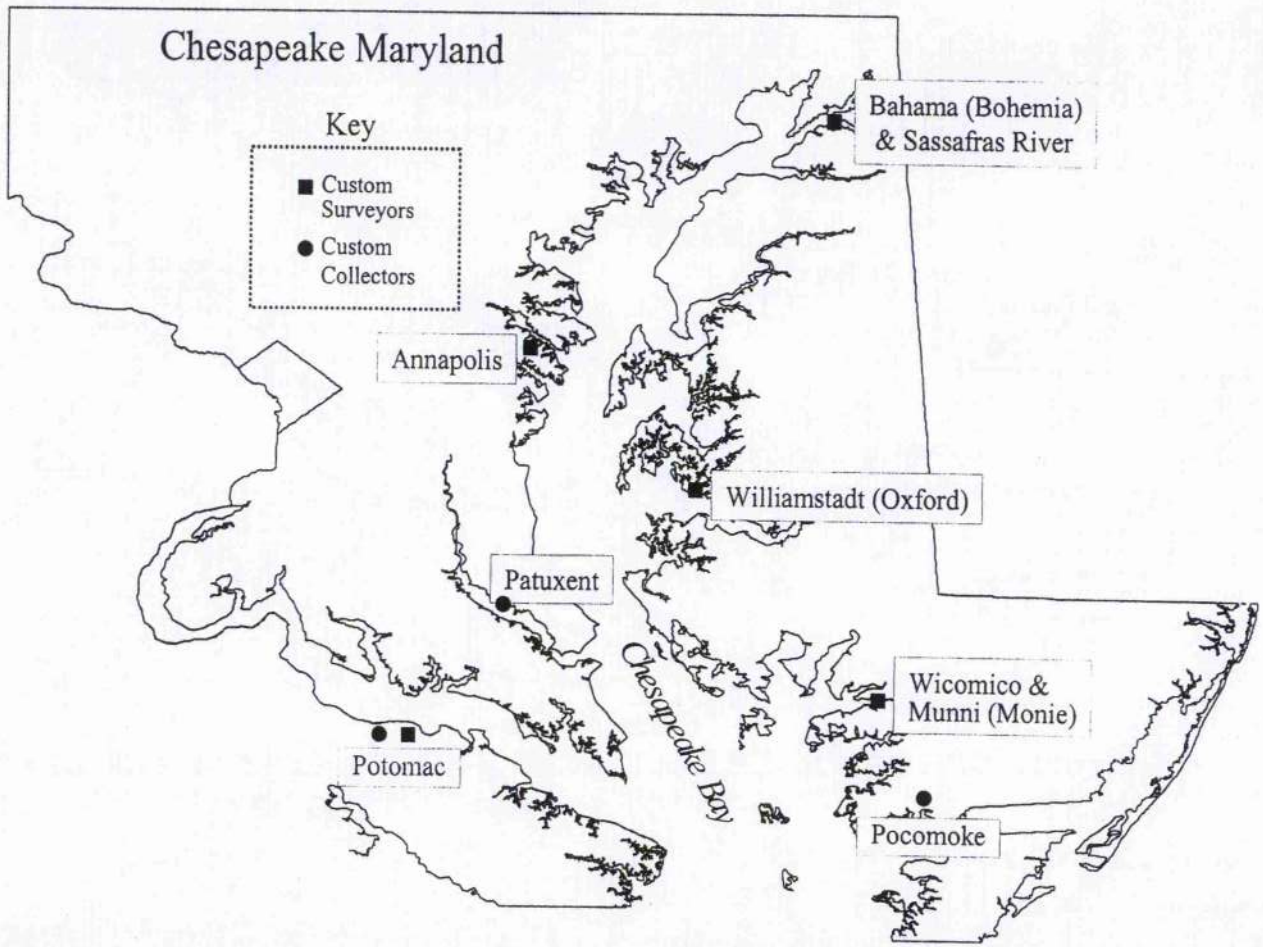
[380] Barrow, *Trade and Empire*, 160.

[381] The data are not chronologically complete. Information for the port of Annapolis was collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Records Office, Kew, London, England. The periods covered are January-December 1754, January-April 1755, October-December 1756, January-December 1757, January-December 1758, January-December 1759, January-December 1760, and January-March 1761. These records were chosen because they were the most complete of this very fragmented resource. These periods were represented by eight reports a year; four entering and four clearing for each quarter. This data set consists of 30 Naval Officer Report Sheets. The total data-set, if extant, would have consisted of 56 Naval Officer Report Sheets for the time period in consideration.

[382] The administrative quarters: January to April-Lady Day Quarter; April to July-Midsummer Quarter; July to October-Michaelmas Quarter; October to January-Christmas Quarter.

Figure 6.3
Maryland Customs System: Colonial Period



Map by the author based on the work of Thomas C. Barrow, *Trade and Empire: The British Customs Service in Colonial America, 1660-1775* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 73.

these trips, to or from Annapolis.[383] Many of the voyages were repeat trips, for the vessels and their captains, to the capital.

In many studies of trade in the Chesapeake, tobacco is the only commodity mentioned. However, this study used the data from the Naval Officer reports to see what other types of goods were coming into and being exported from Anne Arundel County during the middle of the eighteenth century. A representative study of merchandise available in London Town can be documented from newspaper advertisements and from the probate records of London Town merchants. (See Chapter 5.) The port records help paint an overall picture of economic activity in the county.

Exported Commodities

The following commodities were exported from Maryland in sufficient quantities to warrant study and tabulation: wheat and corn by the bushel, iron by the ton, flaxseed, staves and heading, and tobacco.[384] Foodstuffs (flour, ship bread, pork products, beans, and peas) also were exported but not on the same scale as the items mentioned above. These items will be discussed further below.

Wood Products

Wood and wood products were exported in large quantities from Anne Arundel County. The sugar colonies (islands in the Caribbean) needed barrels of all sizes (casks and hogsheads) to process, store, and export their produce.

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[383] Sorted by "Ship or Vessel Name" and "Kind of Build," excluding duplicate records = 220 of 511.

[384] Staves and heading are the unassembled parts of barrels and hogsheads.

England required timber for shipbuilding to accommodate the Royal Navy and its material demands fueled by the many wars during the eighteenth century. One common form of wood product exported from Maryland by the thousands was "staves and heading," the prefabricated tops, bottoms, and staves of barrels. Colonial Maryland timber enterprises also produced shingles as well as planks used in both ship and house construction. These products were noted as "oak planking" and "cedar shingles," two types of wood readily available in Maryland. During the period from 1755 to 1757, nearly 500,000 pieces of staves and heading were sent overseas to other colonies.[385] Although 500,000 were exported, the planters of Anne Arundel County, themselves, would have required thousands of hogsheads for tobacco and equally as many barrels for flour, wheat, and corn. It is clear that there was large-scale production of staves and heading in the county, contributing to the local economy by providing jobs and income. (Chart 6.5)

Tobacco

Tobacco was exported in only 41 out of the 146 voyages that cleared Annapolis from 1754 to 1757. Nearly all (90%) of this tobacco was sent to England, with the majority sent to London. One of the largest shipments sent from Annapolis during this period traveled with London Town's William Strachan to London, England in August of 1757. His vessel, the 250-ton *Lyon,* carried 512 hogsheads.[386] The average shipment consisted of 268 hogsheads of tobacco per

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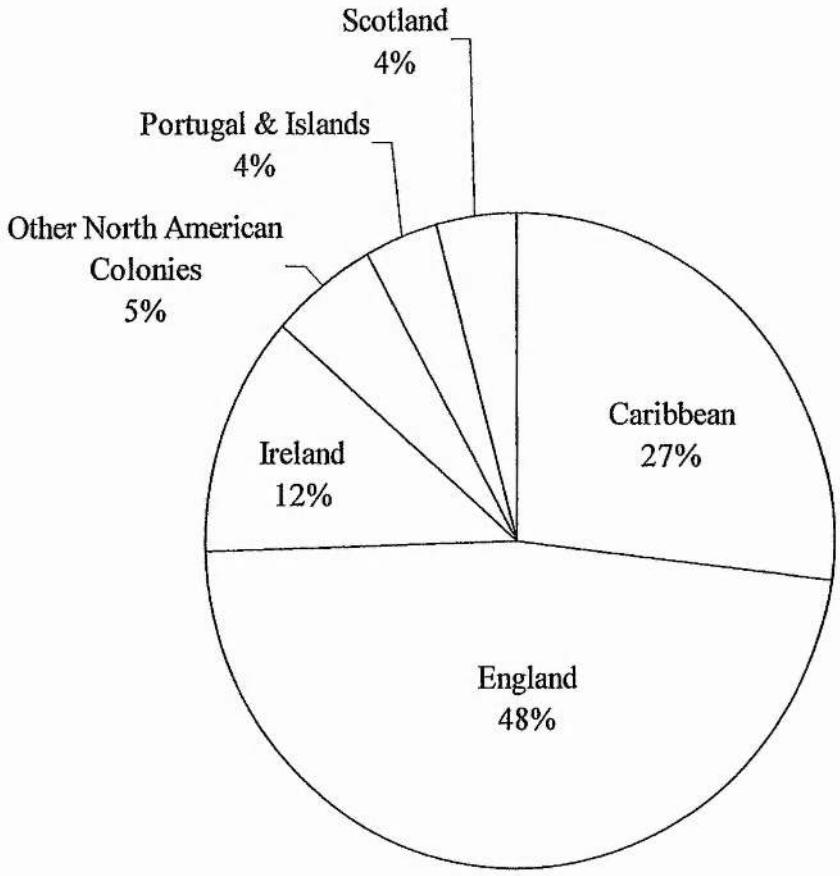
[385] The number from the port records is 481,227, but this number may be low as some of the clearing records did not note the number of pieces, but simply "staves and heading."

[386] PRO, Port of Annapolis Records for 1757.

Chart 6.5
Destinations for Anne Arundel County
Staves and Heading Exported from 1754 to 1757



Specific port destinations. *England*: Biddeford, Bristol, Falmouth and London. *Caribbean*: Antigua, Barbados, Jamaica, and St. Christopher's. *Ireland*:Cork, Dublin, and Newry. *Scotland*: Aberdeen and Leith. *Portugal*: Lisbon and Madeira. *Other North American Colonies*: Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. (From the PRO and MSA Port of Annapolis Collections.)

voyage. Tobacco was not a product that saw large-scale intercolonial trade. (Chart 6.6) In three instances, very small amounts of tobacco were sent to other British colonies: Halifax, Nova Scotia (one hogshead); Boston (one hogshead); St. Christopher's in the Caribbean (two hogsheads).[387] The scale of tobacco exported from Annapolis attests to the scale of tobacco production in Anne Arundel County.

Foodstuffs: Wheat, Corn and Flour

Foodstuffs such as wheat, corn, and flour also were exported from Anne Arundel County although Baltimore County would come to dominate this market. Sixty percent of all wheat exported was shipped to foreign ports; the remainder was sent to other American colonies. During the period for which records are available, from 1754 to 1757, more than 89,000 bushels of wheat were shipped out of Anne Arundel County. The Portuguese (in Lisbon and Madeira) received most of the shipments, nearly one quarter, or 24%. New York received the second largest amount: 21%. The difference between intercolonial and foreign exportation is in the amount of wheat and the number of voyages. The amount of wheat sent to Portugal consisted of over 21,000 bushels, but this amount was transported in only five voyages. The amount sent to New York, 19,054 bushels, was transported

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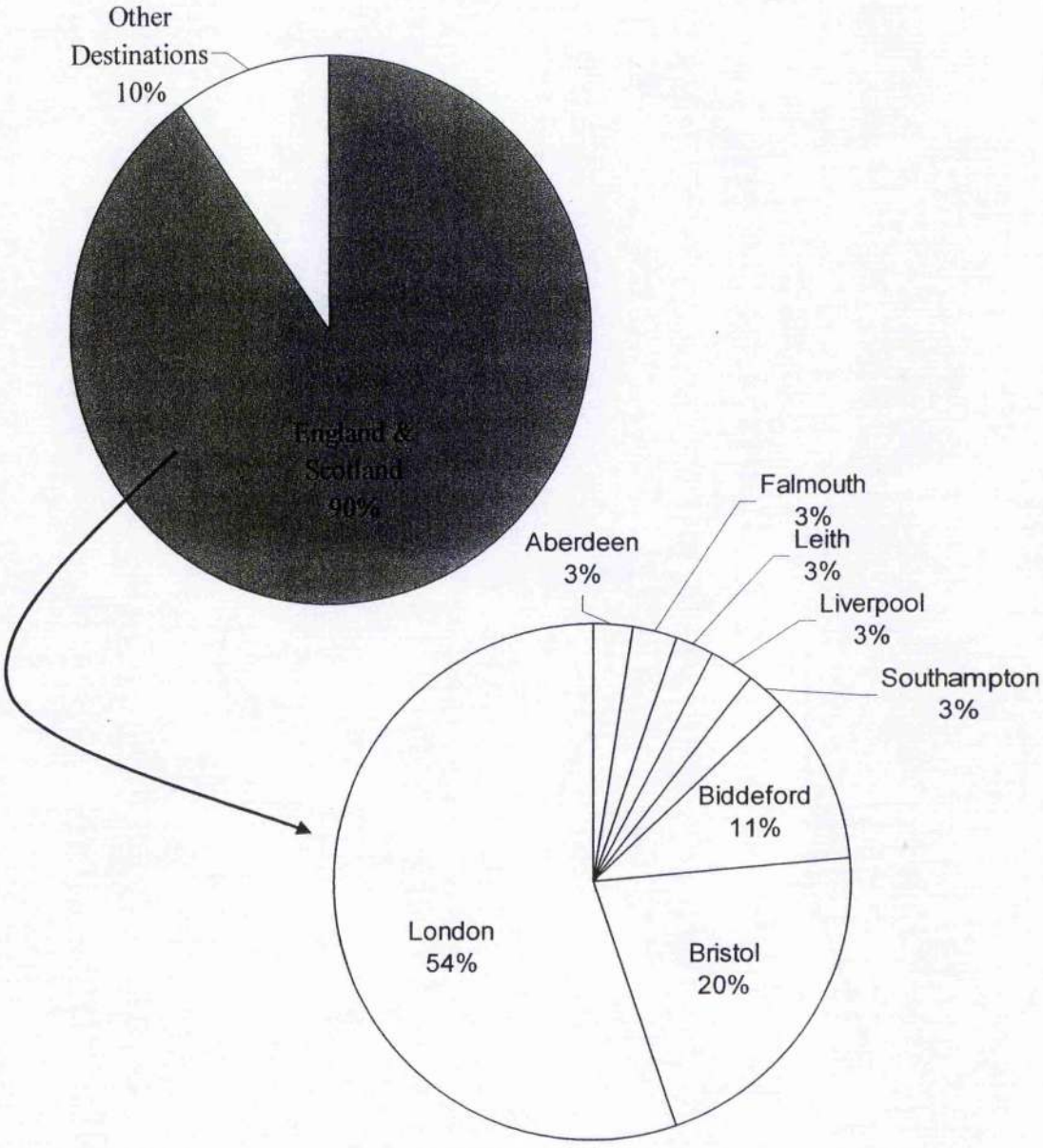
[387] Hhds is an abbreviation for hogshead. During the 18th century the weight contained in a hogshead varied although it was regulated by the Crown and by the Provincial Government of Maryland. In 1704, the Crown established the dimensions of "the size of forty six inches in length and thirty inches in the head and the same hogsheads or any of them shall pack full of Tobacco." (MSA, Archives of Maryland, Vol. 23, pg. 330-331.) By 1718 the size had changed, the hogshead dimensions were a little smaller, but the hogshead was required to hold 500 lbs. of tobacco. (MSA, Archives of Maryland, Vol. 36, pg. 507-510.) Furthermore, by 1763 a hogshead was required to weigh no more than 1,000 lbs. This included the weight of the construction materials (i.e. wooden staves and nails) and the contents of the tobacco. (MSA, Archives of Maryland, Vol. 75, pgs. 607-608.) From the Port of Annapolis Records, it appears that a hogshead of tobacco weighed 1,000 lbs. and a hogshead of liquid, usually rum, held 100 gallons during the period under study, 1754-1762.

Chart 6.6
Destinations for Anne Arundel County
Tobacco Exported from 1754 to1757



Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745-1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557-1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

in nine voyages. This is due to the traditional use of smaller ships in coastal trade. (Chart 6.7)

Corn (also referred to as maize) was a Native American crop that was embraced by the early colonists in Virginia and Maryland. By the mid-eighteenth century, corn was used to feed slaves not only in the colonies but also in the Caribbean. This is illustrated by the quantities sent to the sugar islands of the Caribbean. Nearly three-quarters (or 68%) of the corn exported from Annapolis went to the Caribbean. This is a stark difference from the amount of wheat sent to the islands during the same period; only 2%. Twenty-six percent of the trade in corn was intercolonial and the remaining 6% was exported to Ireland, Newfoundland, and Madeira. (Chart 6.8)

Of 47 voyages that involved some type of foodstuff in its outgoing cargo (including bread), all contained flour, which was shipped in barrels. A minimum of 6,286 barrels and 493 bushels of flour were exported from Anne Arundel County during this period of study.[388] Bread, which was presumably on board for use on the voyage, not for exportation, was included on 26 of the voyages and was accompanied by pork or hams in 13 of those voyages. Beans and peas made up 18% of the exported foodstuffs, some of which may have been used onboard outgoing vessels as provisions for the return voyage. From this data, it is interesting to note that the exported pork or hams, peas and beans were distributed equally among the American Colonies, the Caribbean, and England. However, in the cases of flour and bread, nearly two-thirds of these products went to the Caribbean: Barbados (nearly 80% of both flour and bread) and Antigua, Bermuda,

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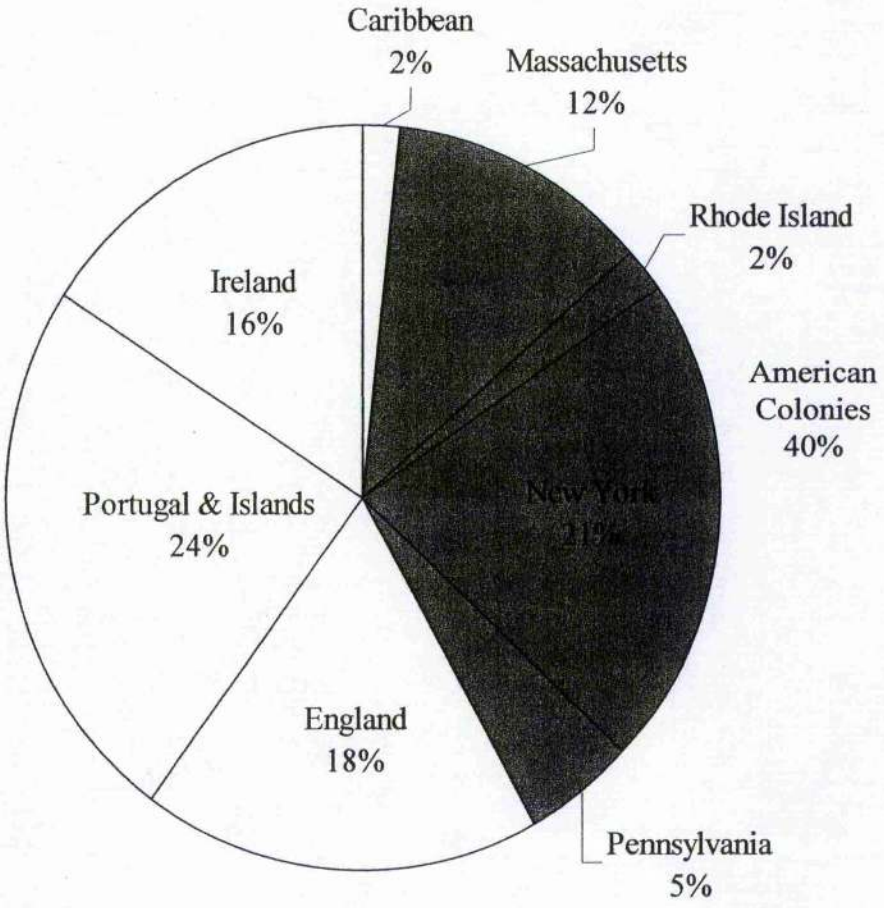
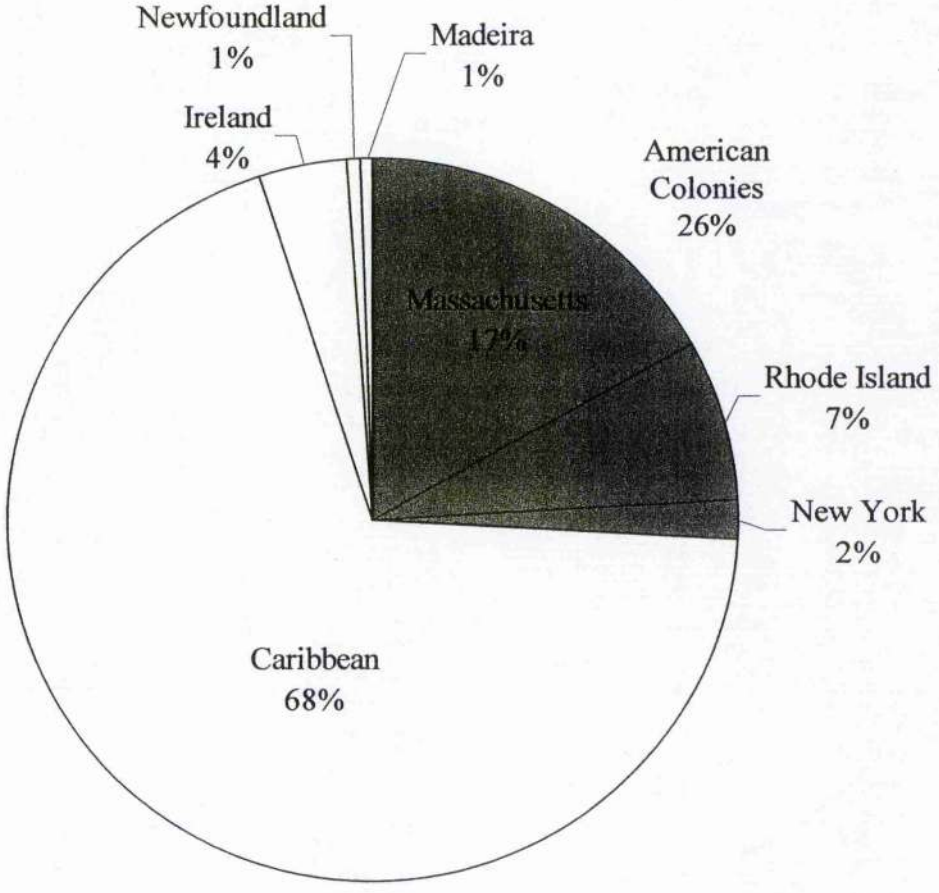
[388] Some of the vessels did not indicate the quantity of their flour. The size and capacity of a barrel varied in the 18th century and depended upon its contents. Therefore, I have provided the raw number in both barrels and bushels.

Chart 6.7
Destination for Anne Arundel County
Wheat Exported from 1754 to 1757



Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745-1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557-1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

Chart 6.8
Destination for Anne Arundel County
Corn Exported from 1754 to1757



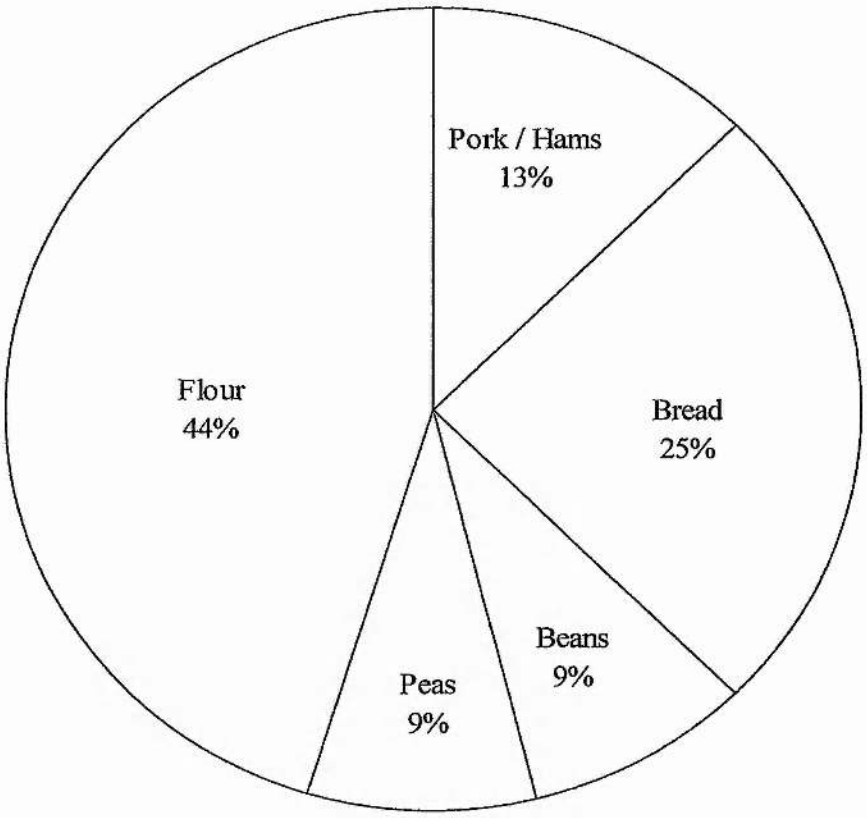
Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745-1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557-1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

Jamaica, and St. Christopher's. Although many of the islands were home to large plantations, the Caribbean did not produce enough food to feed the massive number of slaves residing there. It was more profitable to cultivate land to grow cash crops such as sugar. (Chart 6.9) Therefore, the Caribbean imported foodstuffs from the colonies in order to feed its slaves.

Flax

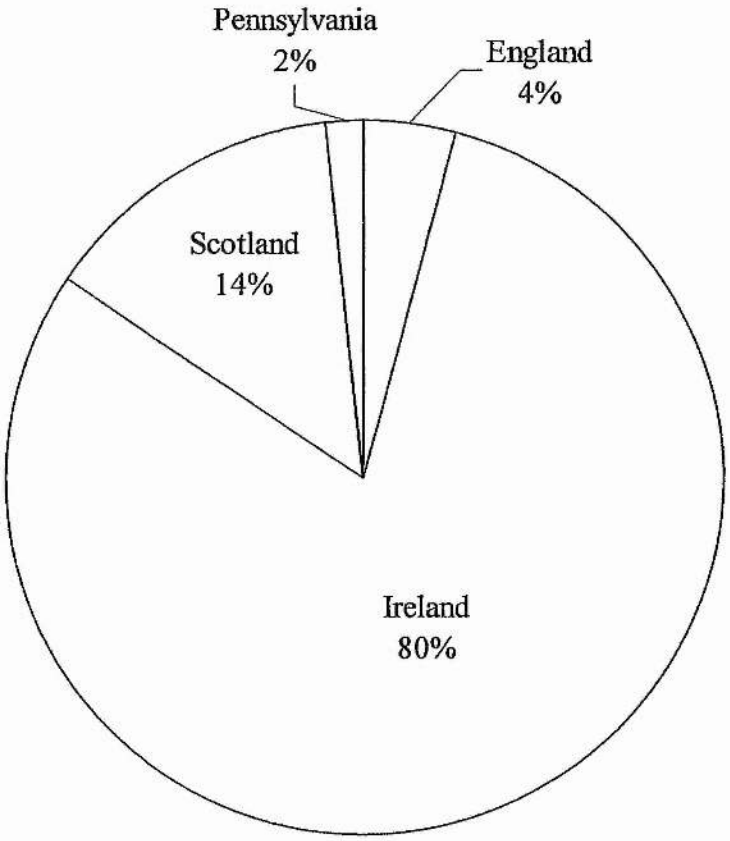
Flax was a crop that apparently thrived in the South River area. The stem fibre were used to make linen, or mixed with hemp fibre to make canvas for sailcloth. Flaxseed or linseed oil was used in treating wood for ships and household furniture. Many ships cleared the Naval Office in Annapolis with flaxseed bound for Cork in Ireland. This is a prime example of mercantilism. Flaxseed was produced in the colonies, sent to Ireland, and cultivated and made into linen that was, in return, exported to the colonies in the form of fabrics for sale. Planters in Maryland could very possibly purchase linen fabric made from flaxseed that had come from their own farms. The flaxseed also could have been sent to facilities in Britain to manufacture linseed oil. None of the shipping records indicate that flax fibre was exported; only flaxseed. The fibre apparently remained in the colony and was used in domestic (i.e., household) fabric production. (See Chapter 7.) Eighty percent of the flaxseed exported from Annapolis (15,550 bushels) was sent to the cities of Cork and Newry in Ireland. Only 14% went to Leith in Scotland, (the port of Edinburgh), and four percent was sent to Falmouth in England. Less than three percent was sent to other colonies: two percent to Philadelphia and less than one percent to New York. (Chart 6.10)

Chart 6.9
Types of Foodstuffs Exported from
Anne Arundel County
1754 to 1757



Forty-seven of the 146 outgoing voyages contained some type of food. Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745-1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557-1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

Chart 6.10
Destination for Anne Arundel County
Flaxseed Exported from 1754 to 1757



In the shipping records, amounts of flaxseed were represented in hogsheads, bushels,and casks. The following formulas were used to reach a consistent amount for each type based on the conversion apparent in the primary records. All amounts were converted to bushels by first converting to gallons and then divided by eight to tabulate the number of bushels. 1 Hhds = 100 Gallons; 1 Cask = 30 Gallons; 1 Bushel = 8 Gallons. Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745-1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557-1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

Iron

Iron production was not a large part of the colonial economy. Nevertheless, it was encouraged by the Maryland Assembly starting in 1719. It was considered a way to make "remote and barren lands, as are now entirely useless and uncultivated . . ." profitable.[389] Maryland's first ironworks, Principico (established c.1725) was located about 60 miles north of Annapolis.[390] By 1748, the governor of Maryland reported to the Board of Trade that: "There are a great many Iron Mines and Several of them very good in the Province and there are Eight Furnaces for making Pig Iron & Nine forges for making Bar Iron."[391] By 1776, Maryland had as many as 18 iron furnaces and forges to recover iron from ore and undertake minimal refining.[392] The furnace closest to Annapolis was the Patuxent Iron Works owned by the Snowden family of Anne Arundel County. Another Anne Arundel County family, the Dorseys, owned both a furnace and a forge in southern Baltimore County, located in Elkridge (established c.1755) and Avalon, (established c. 1772) respectively.[393]

Early iron production consisted of melting ore in blast furnaces to form cast-iron "pigs" or bar ingots. These bars were easy to transport and were sometimes used as ship ballast. As iron was too heavy to move in large shipments, it was often paired with other cargo so not to waste valuable shipping space. The

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[389] Archives of Maryland, 33: 467-469.

[390] Ronald L. Lewis, "The Use and Extent of Slave Labor in the Chesapeake Iron Industry: The Colonial Era" *Labor History* 1976 17 (3): 392. Principico was located near present day Perryville, Maryland.

[391] Archives of Maryland, *Proceeding of the Council of Maryland, 1732-1753*, ed. William Hand Browne (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1908) 28: 469.

[392] Ronald L. Lewis, *Coal, Iron and Slaves* (Westport, Connecticut: 1979), 224.

[393] John W. McGrain, "The Development and Decline of Dorsey's Forge," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 72 (1977): 346.

smallest shipment, only 1 ton, departed Annapolis for Madeira in October of 1754 on the 95-ton vessel *Christian*, George Watt, master. Iron made-up only a small amount of the vessel's cargo. The remaining cargo consisted of 4,500 bushels of wheat and 6,000 pieces of staves and heading (wood product). Most commonly, iron was paired with staves and heading, grains, and tobacco. Only eight of the 51 voyages carried iron as its only cargo. The average shipment of iron sent from Annapolis was roughly 24 tons.

During the period 1754 to 1757, 68% or 826 out of 1,120 total tons, of iron exported from Annapolis went to Britain. It was sent to the ports of Bristol, Biddeford, London, and Liverpool, with London receiving most of it (574 of 1,120 tons). Twenty-six percent of the shipments went to the American Colonies of Virginia and North Carolina and six percent went to the Caribbean. Only one shipment (1 ton) was sent to the Portuguese Island of Madeira.

In 1750, the British Parliament passed the Iron Act which prohibited "colonists from manufacturing iron products and restricted them to supplying raw iron to England."[394] This act also prohibited the colonies from making tools and from exporting iron to non-British countries. This Act was designed to protect British manufacturing and reinforce the colonies' role as supplier to the mother country.

The 1751 Jefferson and Fry map of Maryland noted the existence of 11 port towns in Maryland: five on the Western Shore (Annapolis, Baltimore, Charles Town, London Town, and St. Mary's City) and six on the Eastern Shore (Bollingbroke, Chester Town, George Town, Queen's Town, Oxford, and Somerset). However, it only noted the location of two iron production facilities:

the Baltimore Ironworks on the Patapsco River in Baltimore County and the Nottingham Forge in Cecil County. (Figure 6.4)

Exported Commodities Summary

Maryland's economy may have been dependent on tobacco but it is clear from the shipping records that other commodities contributed to the mercantile system. Tobacco was shipped to London in exchange for European goods, but locally grown grain and foodstuffs were exported, from Annapolis and Baltimore, to the Caribbean and other American Colonies. Flaxseed was shipped to Ireland for cultivation and production into cloth. The distribution of trade reflects the importance of relationships between the American Colonies and its trading partners. Over all, Britain (England, Scotland, and Ireland) was the destination for 41% of Anne Arundel County goods and produce. Other American colonies made up 31% of the trade and the Caribbean was third with 24%, although it has been shown that they received the most foodstuffs and very little tobacco. The remaining trade (four-percent) was conducted with other places such as Nova Scotia and Portugal. The growth of the grain trade in Maryland during the last quarter of the eighteenth century was another contributing factor to the demise of London Town. The raw materials and mills were located in or near Baltimore.

IMPORTS TO ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY

As outlined in Chapter 5, London Town was the recipient of merchandise from all over the world as was represented by the probate inventories of the town's

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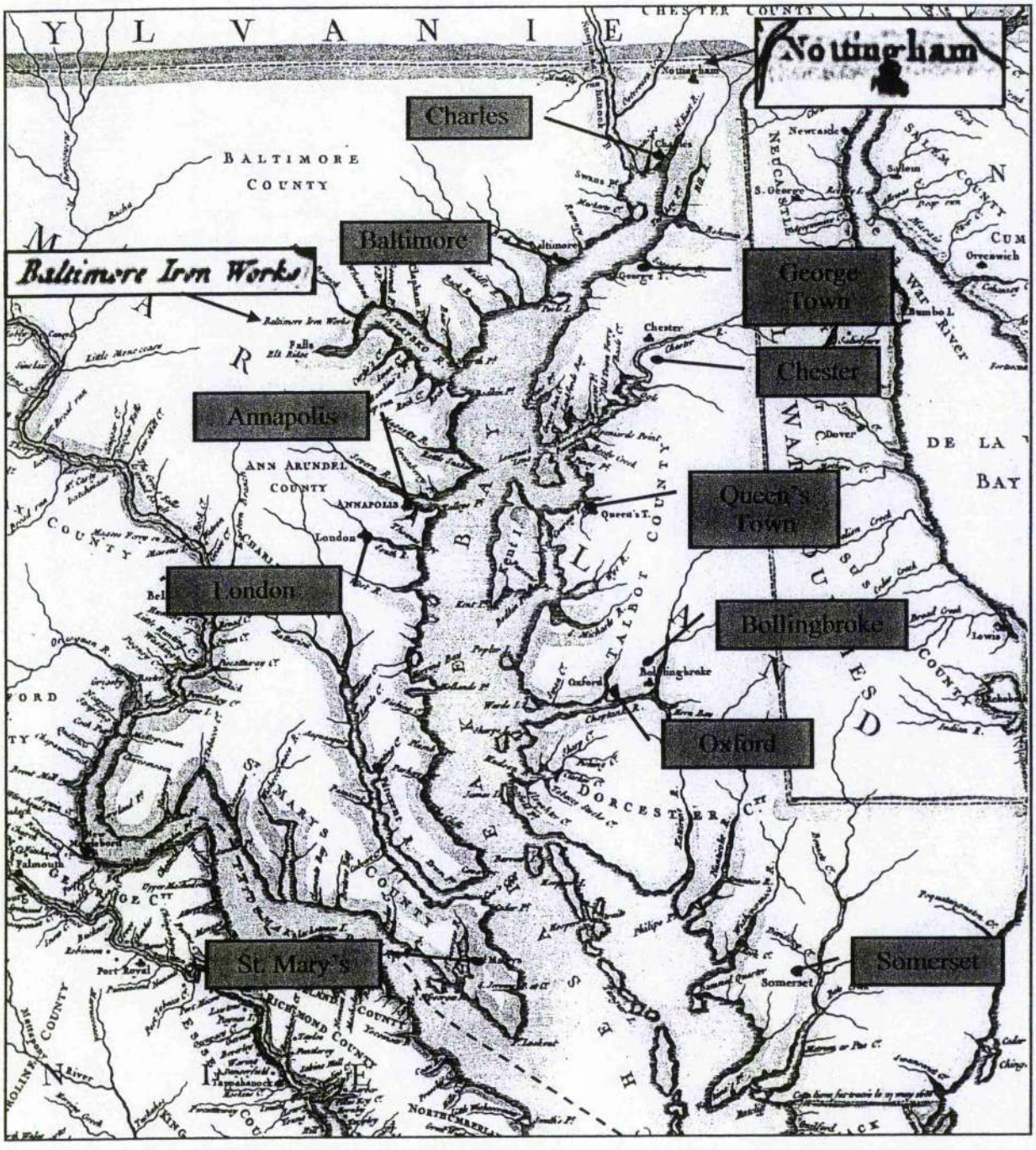
[394] NYPL, *American History*, 275.

Figure 6.4
Maryland Port Towns 1755



Virginia, Maryland and Delaware 1755 from a reproduction of the *Jefferson and Fry Map* (New York: Historic Urban Plans, Inc.), ND.

merchants. Shipping records provide documentation regarding the other items imported into the county during the eighteenth century such as slaves, convicts, and indentured servants, sugar, salt, rum, and other staples of the colonial diet. This section outlines some of the items exchanged, all over the world, for Anne Arundel County tobacco.

Imported Labour: The Trade in People

The production of tobacco was a very labour-intensive process. The crop had to be planted, maintained, harvested, cured, packed, inspected, stored, and shipped. Maryland, like other cash-crop economies, had to supplement its labour pool with servants: indentured, convict, and enslaved. (Chart 6.11) "Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland were the three great servant-importing colonies."[395] Between 1754 and 1760, 2,252 people were imported through Annapolis in order to supply labour to Anne Arundel County and beyond.

In addition to slaves, there were three other groups transported to the colonies: convicts, who were sentenced to transportation (or a penalty of exile) by the British courts; indentured servants, who signed a contract in Britain before emigrating; and redemptioners, who signed no indenture in their home country but were given a certain number of days after arriving in the colonies to settle an indenture and pay for their passage.[396] Each group is addressed in turn although no difference is made between indentured and redemptioner servants in the Naval

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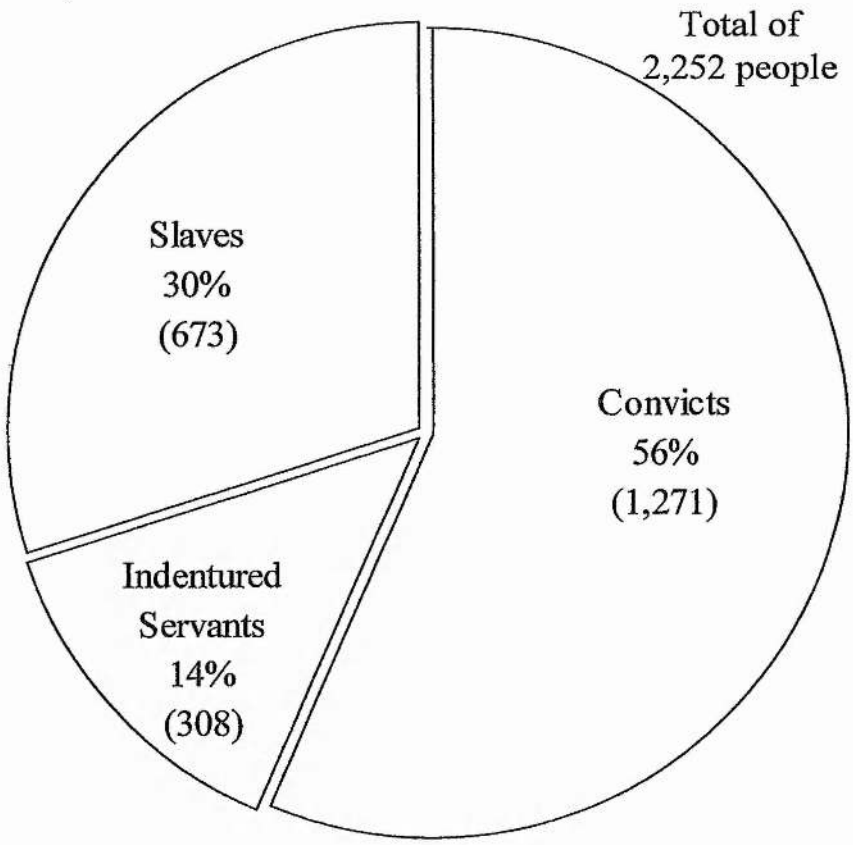
[395] Eugene Irving McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820* "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science," H. B. Adams, ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1904), 30.

[396] McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 37.

Chart 6.11
Types of Bound Immigrants Sent to
Anne Arundel County from 1754 to 1760



Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745-1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury papers, 1557-1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

Office Records.

Convicts

Maryland was considered a "dumping-ground for English jails, and received more convicts than any other colony on the continent."[397] Convicts provided a steady source of white labour since transportation to the colonies was considered preferable to hanging.[398] Twenty-four of the documented 365 incoming voyages to Annapolis contained convict servants. During 1754 to 1760, Anne Arundel County received a minimum of 1,271 British criminals. The convict ships came from the ports of London, Bristol, Falmouth, and Bideford. More than 54% of the convict ships came from the London area and its overflowing prison system.[399] Records indicate that almost 80% of convicts were men.[400] Although men made up the largest portion, women and young boys also were sent away for their crimes. An early eighteenth-century Scottish newspaper chronicled the fate of a number of female convicts. "This morning there was sent from hence forty-six women for Theft and Whoredom under Strong Guard for Lochrayan to be Ship'd off then to Mary-land."[401]

It seems that one's fate could depend upon which criminal court one was assigned. "At the Old Bailey, London's chief criminal court, more than two-thirds

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[397] McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 98.

[398] Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 11.

[399] A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America, The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718-1755* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 48-49.

[400] Breakdown of gender comes from the study of British Assize Circuits (court) records found in: Ekirch, *Bound for America*, 48-49.

[401] *Edinburgh Courant* (no. 102), January 28, 1706.

of all felons from 1718 to 1775 were ordered for exile (transportation to the colonies)."[402] The length of time convicts were banished was based on both their crimes and socioeconomic standings.

> The court which tried the prisoners was given full power to order transportation of any person convicted of crimes subject to benefit of clergy. The term of this class of felon was a fixed seven years . . . Person convicted of crimes without benefit of clergy, the term for these was 14 years . . . Some of the worse offenders were banished for life.[403]

The greatest numbers of the seven-year passengers sent to the plantations were common criminals including men and women of all ages and descriptions.[404] However, those who could afford to buy their way out of minor crimes could go free. In some cases, convicts could purchase their freedom from the person contracted for transporting them. These convicts were allowed to "escape" after paying off the master of the vessel.[405]

Convicts were sold into temporary slavery. They had very few rights and were required to work for those who "bought" them for the duration of their sentence. The purchaser paid for the cost of their transport in return for their labor. If they broke the terms of their sentence (i.e., committed other crimes, tried to run away, got pregnant), they were sentenced to serve the county where they resided, just as if the county owned them. The convicts were managed at the county level and if they broke a law, such as bearing an illegitimate child, they had to serve additional time. The Maryland county justices and sheriffs enforced the

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[402] A. Roger Ekirch, "Bound for America: A Profile of British Convicts Transported to the Colonies, 1718-1775," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 42, no. 2 (1985): 184.

[403] McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 99. For the latter half of the 18th century, benefit of clergy noted ones ability to read and write. During the 16th and 17th centuries, literacy was usually limited to the clergy and nobility who were given special privileges based on their literacy and education.

[404] McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 95.

[405] McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 100.

regulations regarding convict behavior.[406] (See Chart 6.11)

Indentured Servants

An indenture was usually entered into voluntarily. However, the terms varied in length from one to five years for adults or longer in the case of minors. All males, 18 years of age or older, who came to the colonies without a prearranged indenture (i.e., a redemptioner) were to serve terms of four years from their first arrival. If under 18 years of age they were required to serve until they reached the age of 24. The terms for female servants were a little more forgiving. If over 12 years of age, women served for four years; if under 12, seven years of service was required. This may have been due to the social custom that women generally married earlier than men. Whatever terms were fixed by the indenture were binding in a court of law and enforced by the authorities in Maryland. During the indenture, the servant could be involved in any type of labor, mainly plantation work or household duties. The owner was required to provide food, lodging, and clothing for the servant during the period of indenture. Upon completion of their service each servant was to receive "freedom dues" which consisted of a new suit of clothing, including shoes, and three barrels of corn and planting tools.[407] Much like the convict servants, all of the indentured servants who entered the Port of Annapolis were from ports in mainland England.

During the period 1754 to 1760, 15 ships brought 308 indentured servants

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[406] Archives of Maryland, Bernard Christian Steiner ed., *Proceedings of the General Assembly of Maryland July, 1727 - August 1729*, vol. 36 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1916), 82.

[407] Paraphrased from McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 37-44.

to Anne Arundel County. Most trickled in at one, three, or five per voyage (ten of the voyages carried fewer than 13 servants). Some ships carried many servants. There were three voyages in 1757 that transported 69 (the *Eugene*), 77 (the *Tryal*), and 75 (the *Frisby*) indentured servants, respectively; in total, 221 in one year. "Voluntary servitude was thus a temporary status somewhere between freedom and slavery, and upon arrival in colonial port the servant was displayed on the deck of the ship and sold to the highest bidder . . . " much like a slave.[408] (See Chart 6.11)

Slaves

Slavery was a well-established practice in Maryland by the eighteenth century. It was very important in Anne Arundel County because the economy was dependent on the labor-intensive tobacco trade. Slaves were imported to work on both large and small plantations. The Port of Annapolis records show that a minimum of 673 slaves were imported during the period from 1754 to 1760 (although there were no shipments recorded in 1755, 1756 and 1757). The true number is probably higher as the slaves constituted as much as 39% of the population by 1755 (see Chapter 2). In the 12 documented voyages, the majority of ships were from the Caribbean (eight), but these only carried 44 slaves. A ship from London brought one slave and a Virginia vessel conveyed 30 slaves to Annapolis in 1760. The majority of the slaves (598) were brought to Maryland directly from Africa in only two voyages. The first ship (the *Upton*, a pink vessel of 180 tons, Thomas Birch, master) arrived in 1759. It was manned by 25 sailors

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[408] John Wareing, *Emigrants to America, Indentured Servants Recruited in London, 1718 to 1733* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing co., Inc., 1985), 9.

and protected from pirates (and from the slaves) with 17 guns. The *Upton* carried 205 slaves from Gambia in Africa. The second ship (the *Jenny,* a square built vessel of 120 tons, John Wilkinson, master) was manned by 35 men, carried ten guns, and transported 393 slaves from an unspecified location in Africa in 1760. Both ships were registered in Liverpool, England. (See Chart 6.11)

IMPORTED FOODS

Mercantilism was dependant on consumerism and colonists were required to import the ingredients of everyday food preparation. "The completely self-sufficient household, in Britain or in North America, in terms of food productions probably did not exist in the eighteenth century, at any level of society, in either rural or urban settings."[409] As previously outlined, Anne Arundel County exported food, but it also imported staples such as sugar, salt, coffee, tea, fish, and molasses, as well as rum and wine. These commodities are associated with the "triangle trade" between England, Africa and the American Colonies and Caribbean Islands.[410] This system involved sugar from the Caribbean plantations, which was exported to the colonies and Britain. Colonies such as those in New England used the sugar and its processing by-product, molasses, to make rum which was sent to other colonies as well as Africa, and thus used in the trading of slaves. African slaves were purchased with British manufactured goods and were sent to both the Caribbean and the American colonies to produce and work with raw materials (such as sugar cane, tobacco, rice, and iron ore). In turn, these raw materials were sent to Britain, processed, and then sold to the colonies and the islands in the form

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[409] Olive R. Jones, "Commercial Foods, 1740-1820" *Historical Archaeology*, 1993 27(2): 25.

of manufactured goods (such as refined sugar, fabric, and metal wares). It was a market system based on interdependence between colonies and the mother country.

Rum

Rum seems to have been the most popular consumable in the colonies during the eighteenth century. It was produced in the Caribbean and in New England colonies such as Rhode Island.[411] However, it was consumed in every colony. It was apparently very popular in Maryland. The Anne Arundel County court regulated the prices tavern keepers could charge for pasturage for horses, food, lodging, and alcoholic beverages.[412] Rum drinks appear prominently on these lists and were among the most affordable alcoholic beverages (second only to locally produced beer). Rum punch (made with rum, sugar and lime juice) was a very popular drink in both the colonies and Britain where many London, England punch houses, and taverns specialized in it.[413] It seems that taverns in Anne Arundel County strove to reproduce the English tavern experience.

Of the 365 incoming voyages to Anne Arundel County, 124 ships brought 3,126 hogsheads (or 196,938 gallons) of rum from 1754 to 1761.[414] The origin of the rum is interesting. One would expect that the Caribbean would have been the

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[410] NYPL, *American History*, 51.

[411] NYPL, *American History*, 276.

[412] Tavern or ordinary keepers were required to have a license to operate an ordinary in Anne Arundel County. Every few years the county would set prices for food, drinks, and lodging. Tavern keepers were required to post these price lists or be fined by the county. See MSA, Anne Arundel County Court Judgments, Liber IB2, folio 224; 1737.

[413] One such tavern was Gordon's Exchange Punch House in London that advertised: "For the accommodation of Gentleman and others, lovers of punch ... opposite to the New Exchange in the Strand.... by Mr. Gordon of Georgia." *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, December 12, 1735 (London: 1735, No. 347). This newspaper is held in the Burney collection of the British Library, London.

sole source, as it was a main location of rum manufacturing, and the Port of Annapolis records show that 81% of the rum came directly from the Caribbean: Barbados (the majority, 45%), Antigua, Bermuda, St. Christopher's, St. Stephen's, and Montserrat. However, nearly 20% came from other American Colonies: New York (the majority, 62%), Massachusetts (Boston and Salem), Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), and Rhode Island. Less than one percent came from other places such as Virginia, South Carolina, and Nova Scotia. This intercolonial trade shows the retail nature of coastal exchange. Colonies would import rum but then trade it for regional goods produced by other colonies, or in the case of Rhode Island, they would import molasses and produce their own rum for exportation. (Chart 6.12)

Salt

Salt was used in day-to-day life in the preparation and preservation of food during the colonial period. The seasoning was usually made by boiling salt water from the sea or a salt pond: natural formations were mined or harvested.[415] As mentioned, Anne Arundel County exported large quantities of hams and pork. This meat was preserved with salt and water and packed into barrels. Salt also was used in the processing of animal hides such as deer, which also were exported from Maryland during this period. One traditional location for British salt production (boiling water in salt pans) was Cheshire (near Liverpool) and dates back to Roman times.[416] Salt from Portugal's Cape Verde Islands supplied the cod fishers

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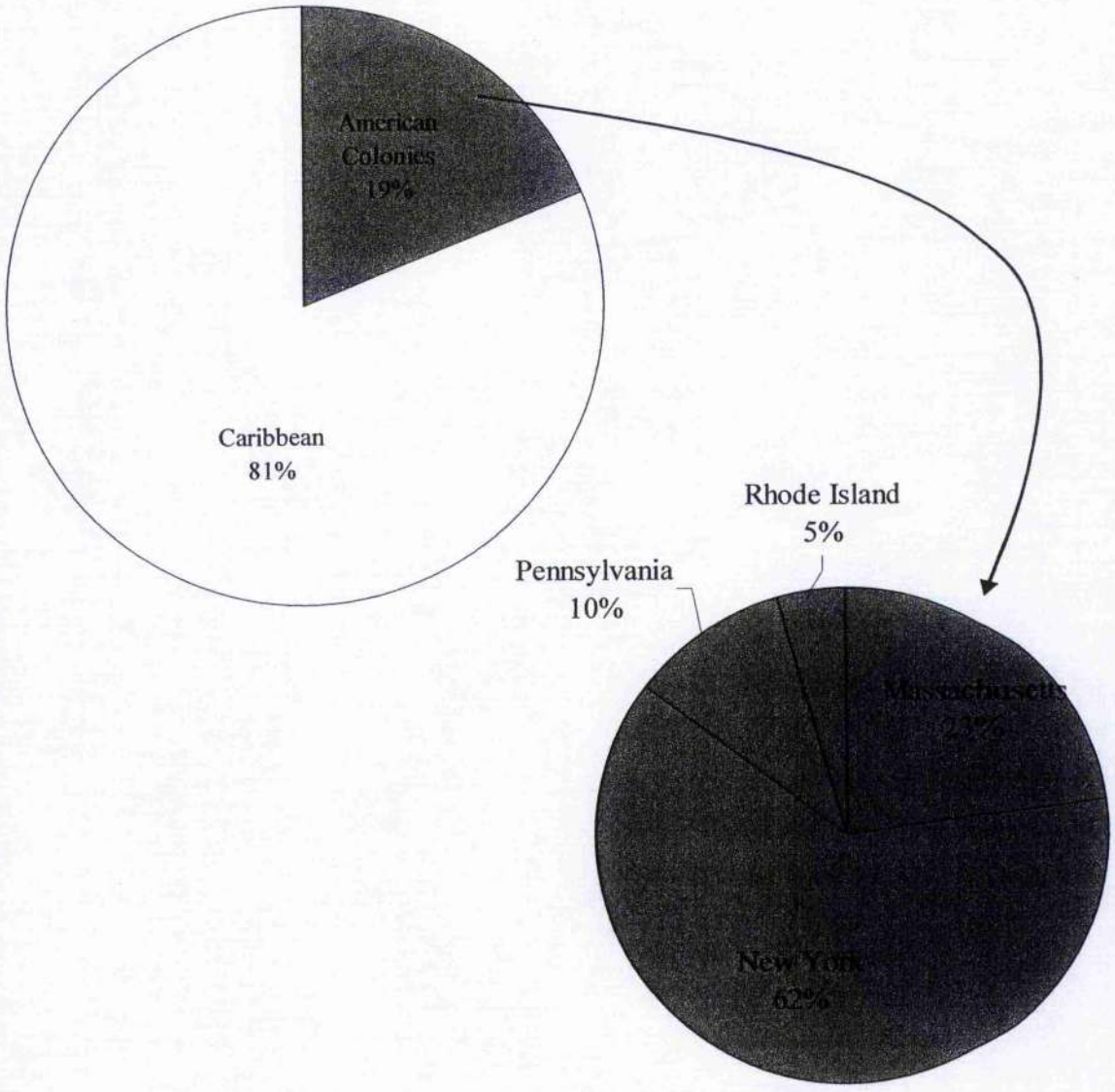
[414] Based on the measurement that one hogshead of liquid equaled 63 gallons.

[415] Jones, "Commercial Foods," 29.

[416] Mark Kurlansky, *Salt: A World History* (New York: Walker and Company, 2002),180.

Chart 6.12
Sources of Rum Imported into the Port of Annapolis, Maryland from 1754 to 1761



Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745-1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557-1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

in Newfoundland and the mineral was harvested from natural formations (crust formed on salt ponds and shallows lagoons) in the Caribbean from the Dutch Antilles, Anguilla, and the Turks Islands.[417] By the American Revolution, colonists were producing there own salt in New England, particularly Cape Cod, Massachusetts, by natural evaporation.[418] Saltworks were also established on Virginia's Eastern Shore, at Assateague Island, late in the eighteenth century.[419]

Between 1754 and 1761, 56,661 bushels of salt were imported through Annapolis, forming part of the cargo of 58 of the 365 incoming voyages. The ships carrying salt came from the Caribbean (38%), as well as England (17%). A very small number (three percent) came from other areas such as Madeira (Portuguese island) and Halifax, Nova Scotia. However, there is no indication where the salt was produced. The highest percentage of salt carrying ships came from other American colonies (42%), such as Massachusetts (45% of the total), New York and Rhode Island (both 17%) and Pennsylvania, Virginia and Delaware (21% collectively). The single largest shipment (5,400 bushels) came from Southampton, England. The average voyage contained 944 bushels and the smallest only 25 bushels. (Chart 6.13)

Sugar

Sugar also was essential to colonial foodways, being used in the

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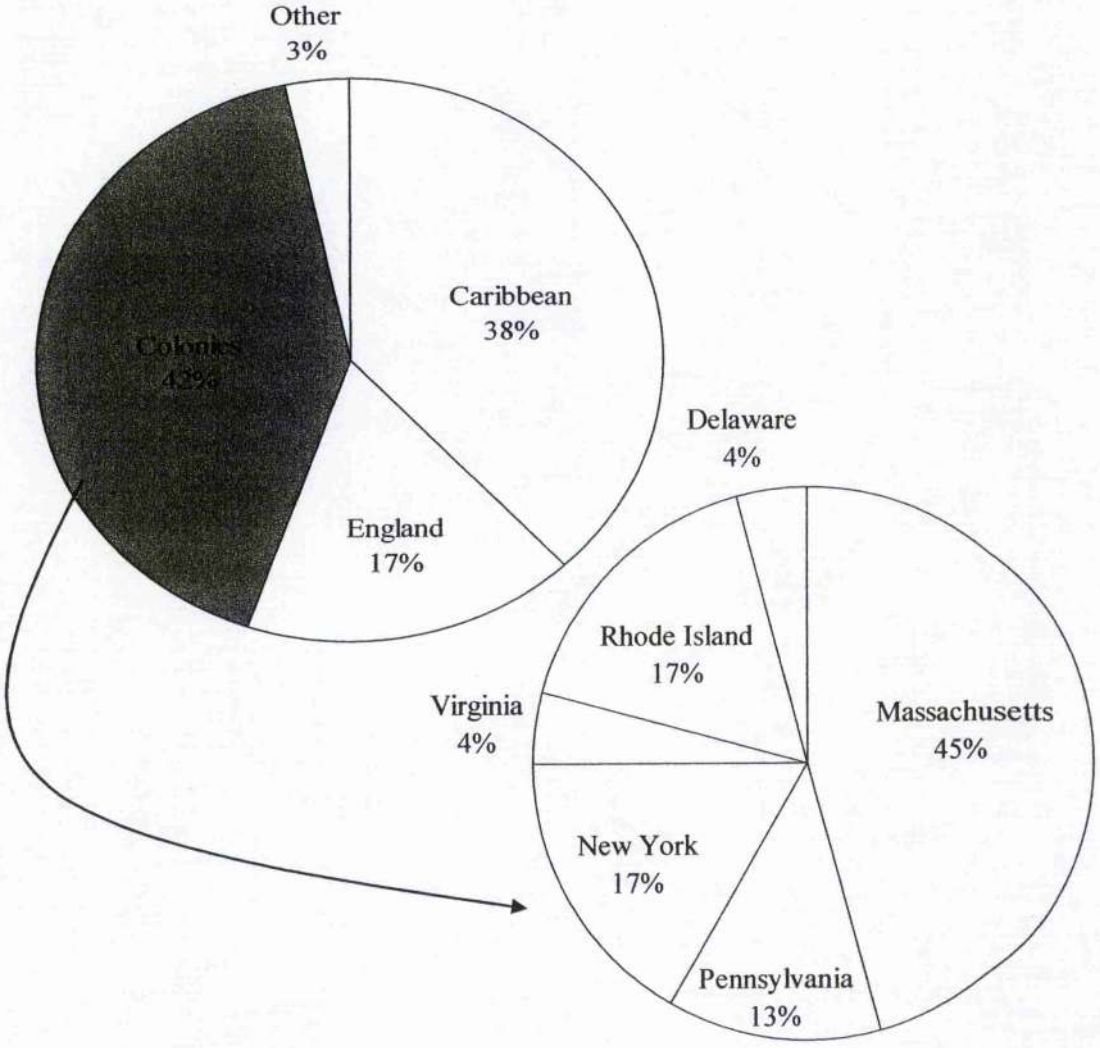
[417] Kurlansky, *Salt*, 207-209.

[418] Kurlansky, *Salt*, 222-223.

[419] Susan Langley, et al., "Archeological Overview and Assessment of Maritime Resources in Assateague Island National Seashore Worcester County, Maryland and Accomack County, Virginia." Office of Archeology, Maryland Historical Trust/DHCD (Crownsville, Maryland: 2002), 21-26. Assateague Island cover parts of both Maryland and Virginia.

Chart 6.13
Sources of Salt Imported into the
Port of Annapolis from 1754 to 1761



Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745-1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557-1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

preparation and preservation of food, as well as in popular tavern drinks and other beverages. Sugar was imported on almost 30% (98 of 365) of the voyages to Annapolis during 1754 to 1761. These cargoes contained brown (unrefined) and white sugar. White sugar was refined from brown or blond sugar that was processed minimally in the Caribbean. The process of boiling, crystallization, and cooling produced varying distillations of the granular by-product. The highest quality refined sugar came from England. The partially processed loafsugar was sent to England from the Caribbean, further refined, and exported to the colonies. On ship manifests, it was measured by weight in pounds and by volume in hogsheads and barrels.[420] This inconsistent packaging and accounting method is a result of the different forms of sugar (i.e., brown, single refined or loaf and double refined).

Characteristically, the majority of the sugar came from the Caribbean with most (over 100,000 pounds) originating from Barbados. Sugar was another consumable commodity that saw a high level of intercolonial trade. Of the 98 voyages to Annapolis, 57 were from other colonies. New York appears to have dominated this intercolonial trade in sugar with 38% of the voyages. Massachusetts and Rhode Island together sent 50% of the ships and Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Delaware, and Virginia were the origins of a small number of voyages.

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[420] No quantitative analysis of sugar was undertaken, as the weight measurement of pounds could not be rectified with that of hogsheads and barrels, which are volume measurements expressed in gallons.

Molasses

Molasses was another sweetener from the Caribbean. Like sugar, it was produced from sugarcane. Both are by-products of boiling sugarcane juice but molasses was the main ingredient in rum production. During the period from 1754 to 1761, 171 hogsheads of molasses (10,773 gallons) were imported through the Port of Annapolis. During this period, there were 24 voyages from other American colonies and 15 came directly from the Caribbean. Logic would hold that the most molasses would come directly from its place of production (the Caribbean) but shipping records indicate otherwise. Sixty-five percent of the molasses imported to Anne Arundel County came from other colonies: 6,845 gallons from the colonies as compared to 3,934 gallons directly from the Caribbean. The New England colonies imported molasses in large quantities for rum production and it seems that this exchange with other colonies was profitable. Massachusetts was the source of over 50% of the intercolonial rum shipments. Molasses also came from the colonies of Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and New York. This intercolonial trade represents retail, as opposed to wholesale, trade. (Chart 6.14)

Wine

Wine was another popular consumable in eighteenth-century Anne Arundel County. It appears prominently on the lists of liquor prices provided by the county to regulate taverns. Varieties such as Port, Canary, Sherry, Rhenish, Florence, Phial, Claret, and Madeira were available in the county.[421]

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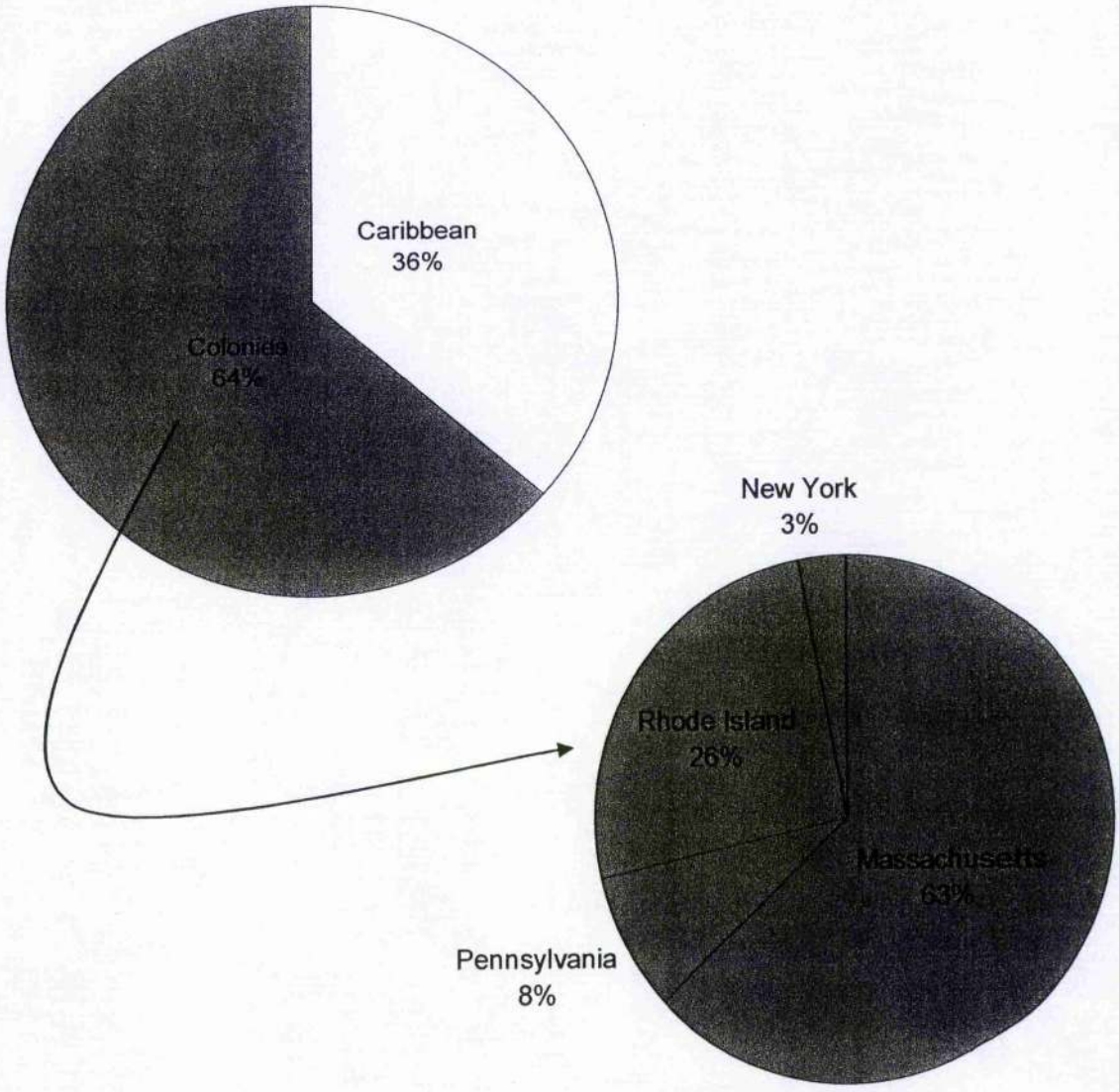
[421] MSA, Anne Arundel County Court Judgments (Liquor Rates), Liber IB2, folio 244; 1737 and Liber ISB2, folio 98; 1751 and Liber IB6, folio 215; 1746.

Chart 6.14
Sources of Molasses Imported into the
Port of Annapolis from 1754 to 1761



Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745-1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557-1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

Between 1754 and 1761, 245 pipes of wine (equaling 30,870 gallons) were imported to Annapolis in 24 voyages.[422] Most lists simply noted "wine" with no indication of its varietal (type of grape) or origin. However, two types of wine were noted in the cargo lists, Madeira and Claret.[423] The only source of Madeira wine was the very small Portuguese Island of Madeira (approximately 35 by 15 miles in area). Wine growing and exportation was the main agricultural and economic activity of the island during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.[424] The size of the shipments from Madeira (47 pipes in one 1759 voyage) is an example of wholesale shipping directly from the region of production. Although 45% of the wine was imported from wine producing areas, nearly the same amount came from other American colonies in the form of intercolonial retail trade. Other colonies such as Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York dealt in the re-exportation of wine.

PORT OF LONDON TOWN

Unfortunately, because it had no customhouse, there are no port records for London Town. Therefore, shipping data must be retrieved from the Port of Annapolis records. By the 1750s, the economic vitality of London Town was waning. (See Chart 6.3.) Between 1754 and 1762, 12 ships (totaling 19 voyages) were involved in trade with London Town. It appears that four of these ships were built in Maryland: *Buchanan*, 1752 (150 tons); *Unity*, 1755 (30 tons); *Robert and*

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[422] For 18th century trading weights and measures see Edward Hatton, *The Merchants Magazine: or Trades Man's Treasury 6th Edition* (London: Charles Coningsby, 1712), s.v VI. "The Tables of Wine-measure to be used in Addition and Subtraction." One pipe equals 126 gallons. Wine was imported in pipes, hogsheads (63 gallons) and quarter casks (16 gallons).

[423] A red wine generally associated with the Bordeaux region of France.

[424] Oz Clark, *The Essential Wine Book* (New York: Simon & Schuster Inc., 1988), 237.

Anne, 1747 (100 tons) and *Polly*, 1750 (100 tons). (See Chapter 7 for Maryland-built ships.)

The vessels cleared at the Port of Annapolis and took their cargo (or ballast) south to London Town to exchange for tobacco.[425] The incoming voyages brought "sundry European goods" loaded upon "crockets" or pallets of like goods from one merchant or manufacturer.[426] These ships varied in size from 60 to 150 tons with crews of from nine to 14 seamen. Many ships were armed with guns and after 1754; all vessels traveling to London Town carried defensive munitions. In July of 1757 the *Robert & Anne* (David Lewis, master) and *Betsey,* (John White, master) apparently traveling together in convoy, entered the port of Annapolis. They brought their European goods and stayed for two months, taking on tobacco in the South River.[427] The 100-ton *Robert & Anne* took on 317 hogsheads of tobacco and the 120-ton *Betsey* took on 365 hogsheads. They both also loaded wood products as well as 25 and 30 tons of iron, respectively. The *Betsey* was well known at London Town, as London merchant John Buchanan owned the ship. (See Chapter 4.) London Town mariner William Strachan was often master of the *Betsey*. Captain Strachan sailed Buchanan's ship to London Town, filled with European goods, in 1758 and again in 1759.[428] All of the vessels trading with London Town were dealing with only a handful of London, England merchants:

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[425] This was established by comparing Port of Annapolis Records (from MSA and PRO) and South River Freight Rate Records (Hemphill, aforementioned).

[426] A container of varying size. A deviation of the word crock, meaning vessel. (OED) The goods on these crockets were not detailed. A vessel was recorded as simply having 5, 10, or 15 (or more) crockets of European goods.

[427] From the Port of Annapolis Records located at the Public Record Office, London, England. Call number T1/374.55; 76999; Midsummer Quarter and Michaelmas Quarters, 1757.

[428] From the Port of Annapolis records located at the Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland. Call number (microfilm) MSA M1002-A; Lady Day Quarter, 1758 and Michaelmas Quarter, 1759.

John Buchanan, Bryan and Thomas Philpot, William Perkins and the Sydenham and Hodgson Company.[429] (Chart 6.15)

CONCLUSIONS ON ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY TRADE

It is clear from the data that through Annapolis and London Town the residents of Anne Arundel County could expect to receive all manner of goods in exchange for their tobacco or other crops. (See Chapter 5 for goods available in London Town.) They could visit London Town to taste Caribbean rum and sugar as well as wines from across the Atlantic. They could call on London Town merchants and purchase sundry European goods brought home by London Town mariners. County residents had a market in Annapolis for their products (i.e., wheat, corn, wood, and flaxseed) other than tobacco. The enterprising planter also could sell wood products, meat, and grains to both incoming vessels and local colonist. Residents of Anne Arundel County could secure labor for their plantations through contracting an indentured or convict servant, or they could purchase slaves. James Dick often offered slaves for sale in London Town. Annapolis was the location of a slave market and one of the major ports of debarkation for slaves in Maryland. Anne Arundel County was very much a participant in worldwide colonial trade. The data presented here demonstrate that Maryland's and Anne Arundel County's residents were dependent on trade for the ingredients of everyday life. However, this dependence provided a market for which they were able to produce goods other than tobacco and participate in intercolonial trade.

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[429] There were Philpots in Annapolis and Baltimore that were apparently acting as factors or partners in the trading with Anne Arundel County. See MSA, Archives of Maryland, vol. 61, pg. 316, and Vol. 28, pg. 452.

Chart 6.15
Ships Trading with London Town
from 1754 to 1762

Date	Ship Name	Master	Shipment Going to
April 17, 1754	*Betsey*	John White	John Buchanan
May 24, 1754	*Beaumont*	James Howell	Bryan Philpot
June 16, 1754	*Chapman*	John Dare	William Perkins
July 3, 1754	*Buchanan*	James Hall	John Buchanan
April 28, 1755	*Unity*	James Holland	Bryan Philpot
May 24, 1755	*Betsey*	John White	John Buchanan
June 26, 1755	*Providence*	John Dare	William Perkins
July 3, 1756	*Betsey*	John White	John Buchanan
June 30, 1757	*Betsey*	John White	John Buchanan
June 30, 1757	*Robert & Ann*	David Lewis	Bryan Philpot
June 26, 1758	*Robert & Ann*	David Lewis	Bryan Philpot
June 26, 1758	*Betsey*	William Strachan	John Buchanan
July 24, 1759	*Betsey*	William Strachan	John Buchanan
July 24, 1759	*John & Jane*	David Lewis	Thomas Philpot
July 24, 1760	*Susannah & Sarah*	David Lewis	Thomas Philpot
July 14, 1760	*Betsey*	William Strachan	John Buchanan
July 9, 1761	*Princess Caroline*	James Cole	Sydenham & Hodgson
July 22, 1761	*Polly*	Joseph Chilton	Thomas Philpot
August 17, 1762	*Prince William*	David Kinlock	John Buchanan

From the Maryland State Archives, Land Records Office, Provincial Court 1705-1762. Ship captains were required to record, with the court, their shipping rate (per ton) for tobacco. Each record lists the ship name, the captain's name, his freight rate, and the river location of his ship. Compiled by Jacob M. Hemphill in "Tobacco Freight Rates in the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1705-1762," Maryland Historical Magazine 55 (1959):36-58. Data also from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745-1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557-1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

Chapter 7: Development of Shipbuilding and Related Industries

London Town was established to advance the tobacco trade and it did so by providing a port for the exportation of tobacco. However, the existence to tobacco town like London Town inspired and promoted other economic activities throughout the colony. One of the most important enduring industries that directly emerged from the tobacco trade was shipbuilding.

In the annals of Maryland history, wooden shipbuilding is often thought of as a nineteenth-century enterprise concentrated on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and largely associated with oyster dredges and skipjacks. These vernacular vessels have their roots in early shipbuilding in the colonial British tradition when vessels were built for coastal trade and tobacco exportation. Nonetheless, shipbuilding was indeed an enterprise of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Maryland. Detailed documentation is scattered as to where vessels were built, who built them, and what these ships tell us about localized colonial economies. However, Ford recently undertook an extensive survey of the number and locations of shipyards in Maryland during the period from 1631 though 1850.[430] More attention, however, has been paid to how much tobacco was exported and the collective tonnage of

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[430] Ben Ford, "Shipbuilding in Maryland, 1631-1850." (Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 2001).

vessels engaged in the transatlantic trade than to the ships that carried the cargo.[431] Much still needs to be done: records need to be identified and compared. This chapter addresses the importance of the early shipbuilding industry, and its associated trades (such as ropemaking and ship repair) in Maryland and Anne Arundel County. It shows that they were indeed viable, if not essential, to trade and the economic development of the colony and London Town.

IN THE BEGINNING: COLONIAL SHIPBUILDING IN NEW ENGLAND

Shipbuilding in the British colonies started in New England, the cradle of colonial maritime manufacturing.[432] In 1607, shipwrights in Massachusetts (and part of what is now Maine) built the first vessel, a 30-ton bark called the *Virginia*.[433] Shipbuilding was the first and, for a long time, the only manufacturing industry in the colonies. Colonial shipyards were financially competitive with their English counterparts due to plentiful supplies of wood that drove down the overall cost of vessel construction. Moreover, shipbuilding was the only industry that achieved significant success in competing with English manufactures.[434]

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[431] See: T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, LTD., 1975); Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1953); Vertrees J. Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulation in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1936); Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982); Louis C. Gray, "The Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Tobacco." *Agricultural History* 1 (1928): 1-34; Jacob M. Price, "The Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707-1775." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 21 (1954): 179-199; John W. Tyler, "Foster Cunliffe and Sons: Liverpool Merchants in the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1738-1765." *Maryland Historical Magazine 73*, no. 3 (1978): 246-279.

[432] Warren D. Renninger, *Government Policy in Aid of American Shipbuilding* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1911), 2.

[433] William McDowell, *The Shape of Ships* (London: Hutchinson & Co., LTD, 1950), 85 and Clinton H. Whitehurst, Jr., *The U.S. Shipbuilding Industry* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1986), 11.

[434] Gary M. Walton and James F. Shepard, *The Economic Rise of Early America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 48.

Unlike other colonies, such as Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, the New England region did not produce a cash crop such as tobacco or rice. Before shipbuilding was established, the New England colonies did not produce anything that could be exchanged for manufactured British goods. Ships became New England's "cash crop."

As early as 1629, shipbuilding was considered so important that six English shipwrights were sent to the Massachusetts Bay Colony and were maintained at public cost by local residents.[435] The New England legislatures also deemed it such an important part of the economy that they took steps to advance and protect the shipbuilding industry. For example, nine years after the settlement of Boston, an act passed by the Massachusetts Bay Colony excused all those engaged in shipbuilding from military training.[436] Clearly, shipbuilding and maintenance were an important industry to the new colony.

The Massachusetts Bay area monopolized early shipbuilding in the colonies. In the 1640s, the towns of Salem and Boston both evolved into shipbuilding centers. By 1643, Boston shipwrights were producing ships of 250 and 300 tons.[437] By 1676, other hubs of shipbuilding that had developed in New England: Charlestown, Ipswich, Salisbury, and Portsmouth, were producing ships for £4 per ton.[438] These areas of New England had ready supplies of timber that previously had been used for making barrels but after mid-century were reserved for shipbuilding. However, rigging a ship was often a problem. The colonies did

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[435] Renninger, *American Shipbuilding*, 2.

[436] Renninger, *American Shipbuilding*, 3.

[437] Joseph A. Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding in Colonial America* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1976), 11.

[438] Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding*, 19.

not produce enough cordage or sailcloth during this early period, so these two very important components had to be imported from England. The completion of a vessel was often delayed due to the lack of these materials. Related industries, such as rope making, developed due to the growth of the shipbuilding industry. By 1660, there were two ropewalks in Boston.[439]

All settlements in New England were involved in agrarian activities to feed the populace and for small-scale export. However, farmers usually did not use land directly on coastal waters. In some cases, this land was granted to shipbuilders. This access to "free land" helped promote ship construction in the colonies. These shipbuilders also were able to procure cheap land on the outskirts of towns and "yards were located away from the central cluster of houses and nearer the stands of timber."[440] Therefore, New England shipwrights had ready access to wood for ship timbers, planks, and treenails.

By the 1670s, shipbuilding had become an important part of New England's economy and "Massachusetts colonists had a commodity that British merchants would accept in payments for exports to America."[441] New Englander's built vessels that were sold to British merchants in exchanged for goods. As the Chesapeake region began to grow, shipbuilding and maintenance became an important part of the economy as well.

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[439] Moser "Ropewalks," 26.

[440] Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding*, 12.

[441] Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding*, 23.

Early Maryland Shipbuilding: The Seventeenth Century

There is very little documentation of shipbuilding in seventeenth-century Maryland. However, logic suggests that an area permeated by so many waterways was home to vessel construction by necessity. Local produce, tobacco, and people were conveyed on small vernacular vessels such as punts or livery type boats called "flats." These smaller boats were relatively simple to build. However, shipbuilding, or the construction of vessels large enough for intercolonial coastal trade and transatlantic crossings required skilled labor and considerable capital investment. Shipbuilding appears to have been established in Maryland by the 1690s.

Maryland Governor Charles Calvert (1679 to 1684) reported that no ships were built in Maryland during the period of 1678 to 1679.[442] However, by 1697 there were many vessels that had been built in Maryland.[443] During this period a distinction was made between "vessels trading to the sea" (ocean going ships for transatlantic trade) and smaller vessels such as shallops and sloops. During the reign of William and Mary, Maryland officials compiled a census of ships, shipbuilders, and seafaring men:

> In obedience to an Order of his Excellency the Governor and Council bearing date the 28th day of May 1697, Commanding the several Sheriffs of this Province to make strict enquiry of what Ships and Vessels trading to Sea have been built within their respective County's since his Majesty's happy Reign, as also what Sloops and Shallops to the County belong, and what are now a building, together with the number of seafaring men.[444]

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[442] Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding*, 26.

[443] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland 1698-1731*, ed. William Hand Browne (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1905), 25: 595-599.

[444] Archives of Maryland, 25: 595. This passage has been edited by the author for clarity.

This account noted ships built in Maryland as well as the number and types of vessels belonging to each county. The record included the 11 Maryland counties of Anne Arundel, Calvert, Prince George's, Baltimore, Charles, St. Mary's, Somerset, Dorchester, Cecil, Kent, and Talbot and totaled 161 vessels. Sloops (41%) and shallops (35%) made up three-quarters of the vessel types in Maryland. Brigantine, pink, and ship made up the remaining 24%.[445] Of the 161 vessels physically in the colony, 112 were noted as belonging to Maryland owners and 49 either were built in the colony or were under construction from 1697 to 1698. (Chart 7.1) The capacity of the vessels was given in how many hogsheads the hull could hold. According to this record, a shallop could hold on average 17 hogsheads, a sloop 37, a brigantine 55, and a ship 340 hogsheads of tobacco. It is clear that the shipbuilders in Maryland were preoccupied with how much tobacco a vessel could transport.

The ship census taken during 1697 and 1698 noted the general location of the shipyards and the shipbuilders as well as the owners of some of the vessels. It also listed how many ships were currently under construction and for what trade each ship was intended. For example, if a vessel built in Anne Arundel County was designed for the Barbados trade it implied that it was probably a swift sloop.[446] A brigantine belonging to Robert Smith was built in the Choptank River area (Talbot and Dorchester Counties) but sent to Kent County to be finished out and rigged. This vessel could hold 60 hogsheads of tobacco and was used in trade to Europe.[447] During this period, Talbot County on the Eastern Shore was home to

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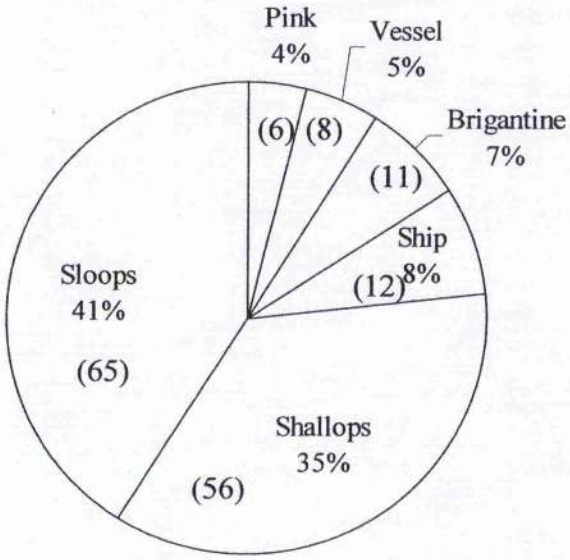
[445] Eight of the vessels were of an indeterminate type. This list does not (in all cases) differentiate between vessels built in the county and vessels owned and operated in the county.

[446] Archives of Maryland, 25: 595.

[447] Archives of Maryland, 25: 599.

Chart 7.1
Ship Census (by type) in Maryland, 1697 and 1698



	Anne Arundel	Calvert	Prince George's	Baltimore	Charles	St. Mary's	Somerset	Dorchester	Cecil	Kent	Talbot	*Totals*
Pink	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
Vessel	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	8
Brigantine	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	2	11
Ship	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	5	12
Shallops	11	4	0	3	5	4	13	3	5	1	7	56
Sloops	10	8	3	0	3	6	7	6	3	3	19	68
Totals	*29*	*12*	*4*	*3*	*8*	*13*	*24*	*11*	*9*	*9*	*39*	*161*

Source: Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland 1698-1731*, ed. William Hand Browne (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1905), 25:595-600.

some of the largest vessels built in Maryland. Solomon Sumers built two vessels in Island Creek near present day Oxford, Maryland (one 400 ton, and one 70 ton ship). In the Choptank River area Robert Graison built three vessels, two that would hold 300 hogsheads of tobacco and another of 120 tons.[448] Shipwrights in Kent County also built large vessels such as the ship *Factor of Bedford* built by Geoffrey Power in the Chester River. It could hold 500 hogsheads of tobacco and was bound for trade in Europe.[449]

Most Maryland shipbuilders were trained in British shipyards, some in Royal Naval Dockyards. Records indicate a strong tie to the Devon area. John Buck of Bythefore (or Bideford), a seaport town in Devon on the river Torridge, built three vessels in Anne Arundel County in the late seventeenth century.[450] So too did John Davis, also of Bytheford. John Oliver built the *Torrington Loyalty* (burthen 200 hogsheads) at New Yarmouth in Kent County. The ship was noted as "belonging to the town of Torrington in the county of Devon," indicating the ship was built in Maryland for English owners.[451]

As mentioned, this report (aforementioned ship census taken during 1697 and 1698) also recorded the number of seafaring men residing in each Maryland county. Kent County had the most with 36 but this seems possibly due to the number of ships ready for launch. However, the list for Kent County included ships' carpenters among its seafaring men. Carpenters were common on voyages

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[448] Archives of Maryland, 25: 600.

[449] Archives of Maryland, 25: 599.

[450] Two brigantines, one named the *George* and a vessel named *Annapolis*. Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland 1698-1731*, ed. William Hand Browne (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1905), 25: 595. Also, see Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of England, comprising the several counties, cities, boroughs, corporate and market towns, parishes, and township*... 5th ed. (London: S. Lewis and Co., 1844), c.v. Biddeford.

[451] Archives of Maryland, 25: 599.

to make repairs when needed. The *Factor of Bedford* had a crew of 16 including one carpenter.[452] *Loves Increase of Whitehaven,* another ship in Kent County, had a crew of 11. The crews of these two vessels comprised 27 of the 36 seafarers of Kent County. Some of the counties recorded no seafaring men among their population. The Sheriff of Calvert County noted: "In all twelve Sloops and Shallops, and no Seafaring men to be found belonging to any of the said Sloops or Shallops."[453] The other counties, Baltimore, Dorchester, and Cecil seemed not to have bothered to count. Anne Arundel and St. Mary's counties both counted ten "men who go by the water when employed." Seafaring men made up a very small part of the Maryland population at the end of the seventeenth century but they were important beyond their number as they were an essential part of the tobacco trade. However, this low number may suggest that sailors came from Britain or elsewhere.

It seems that the low number of resident seaman persisted into the early eighteenth century. In 1715, Maryland Governor John Hart (from 1714 to 1715 and from 1715 to 1720) addressed the House of Delegates, chastising them for the state of commerce and agriculture in the colony. He particularly mentioned the shortage of seafaring men and encouraged Maryland to "grow their own" mariners through improving education.

> The want of Seamen to navigate the vessels is a mighty Obstacle to the Trade of this Province; and since the Humor of the Generality of the People is such that they will not send their Children to Sea, if some Method were found of disposing Annually of a certain Number of the Youth maintained by the several Counties, it would in few Years be of considerable Use and Advantage to this Province in particular and promote Navigation in general. It is with Compassion I observe so many young Men of admirable natural Parts grow up without the least Improvement of Art to form their Minds and

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[452] Archives of Maryland, 25: 599-600.

[453] Archives of Maryland, 25: 596.

> make them more useful to their Country. It is more than Time to repair the great Neglect that is showed to learning here.[454]

Other accounts of ships and seafaring men appear in one of the many reports to the Board of Trade. In late 1732 Maryland officials reported that: "The number of Vessels belonging to this Province are about Sixteen Sloops, Two Snows & one Ship, the Number of Sea-faring Men are about 106: all the above-mentioned except one Sloop & the two Snows are built in this Province."[455] The number of documented vessels was down dramatically from the 1697-1698 ship census; however, the number of seafaring men had risen from 72 to 106.

Some of the vessel owners from Anne Arundel County, listed in the ship census, can be connected to London Town. From 1697 to 1698, the county was home to 29 vessels most of which were either shallops or sloops. London Town landowner Mordecai Moore owned one sloop and merchant Samuel Chambers owned a shallop. David Macklefish, the town's ferry master and tavern keeper, owned two shallops, which may have been used for the London Town Ferry.[456] John Baldwin, who also owned property in London Town, had one of the county's 11 shallops. In addition, some of the "seafaring men born and belonging to this county" were London Town natives; Benjamin and Charles Burges were the sons of Colonel William Burges.[457]

The same ship census provided some information of shipbuilding in

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[454] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland April, 1715- August 1716*, ed. William Hand Browne (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society) 30: 98-100.

[455] Original syntax and spelling. Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland May 1730 - August 1732*, ed. Bernard Christian Steiner (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1917) 37: 588- 589.

[456] Archives of Maryland, 25: 595.

[457] The founder of London Town. Archives of Maryland, 25: 596.

Maryland. However, the locations of these late seventeenth-century Maryland shipyards were not well documented. Some of the entries noted the names of rivers, as mentioned above; however, many of the towns were not recorded. The list named individual builders without providing their locations. For example, Mr. John Brown built two sloops in Prince George's County and Mr. Jefferies of Anne Arundel County built a sloop, but where were the shipyards? It appears that some of the shipbuilders went to the individual buyer's location and, perhaps built the vessel on the owner's property using the owner's timber. During 1697 and 1698 in Talbot County on the Eastern Shore, shipbuilder George Ferguson constructed vessels in more than one place:

> Another [sloop] built by George Ferguson at William Stephenses in the Dividing Creek about 35 tons for the said Stephens, another sloop built by the said Ferguson in Tridhaven [Tred Avon] Creek for Edward Pollard about 40 hogshead burden, another built by the same man [Ferguson] in the same creek for Thomas Skillinton about 40 hogsheads.[458]

Andrew Tonnard also built vessels in more than one place: "Another [sloop] built in Island Creek by Andrew Tonnard and William Sharpe for the said Sharpe about 50 tons ... A sloop built by Andrew Tonnard at Porridge Creek burthen about 40 tons . . .."[459] He built three other vessels in Talbot County.

This late seventeenth-century source (the ship census) describes an active, although small, shipbuilding industry in Maryland and Anne Arundel County where ships were built that varied in size and type, and where some were even made for British owners. This period saw the establishment of shipbuilding in Maryland and as the number and size of Maryland-built vessels grew, related industries, such as hemp production and ropewalks, developed as well.

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[458] Archives of Maryland, 25: 599-600. Passage has been transcribed by the author for clarity.

Maryland Built Vessels: The Eighteenth Century

For the British, the eighteenth century started with war and a need for more ships and naval stores. This helped promote Maryland shipbuilding, if only temporarily: "During the first decade of the eighteenth century alone, English merchants financed the construction of a dozen Maryland vessels, including two 400-ton ships. But this spurt of activity, probably caused by the war (Queen's Anne's War, also known as War of Spanish Succession from 1701 to 1713), did not survive the peace of 1713."[460] The shipbuilding industry grew in all the colonies during this period, so much so that shipwrights were leaving England for the colonies, mostly New England. By 1724, London and Thames River shipbuilders asked the Board of Trade to restrict shipbuilding in the colonies in order to protect the home industry.[461] Other conditions negatively affected shipbuilding in England; for example, the Royal Navy, in 1710, stopped contracting with private shipyards and restricted warship construction to naval dockyards.[462] Politics and the desire to control colonial manufacturing also played a role in the growth of colonial shipbuilding. The Board of Trade sought to protect the English wool industry and suppress such an industry in the New England colonies: "from the early 1720s the Board of Trade viewed colonial shipbuilding as a desirable alternative to a colonial woolen industry . . . Therefore, the colonial shipbuilding industry continued to expand with the blessing of British officials . . . By 1730 one-sixth of the English merchant fleet was built in America."[463]

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[459] Archives of Maryland, 25: 599.

[460] Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding*, 52.

[461] Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding*, 53.

[462] Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding*, 53.

[463] Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding*, 53.

Most colonial shipyards were small private operations during the eighteenth century; therefore, they are difficult to document. This holds true for establishing the location of shipbuilding facilities in Maryland and Anne Arundel County. However, some documentation has survived for public shipyards such as one in Annapolis in Anne Arundel County and another in Cecil County.

In 1719, shipwright Robert Johnson approached the Maryland Assembly to purchase the "upper part of the lot for Ship yards in the City of Annapolis."[464] The lot had 120 feet of water-frontage and the Assembly stipulated that the property could only be used as a ship carpenter's yard. This "lot for ship yards" in Annapolis was noted as being owned by the "corporation" (i.e., by the city) and Johnson had to pay rent of five shillings per year. There is no indication of when this public lot was established, but it is clear that it was designed specifically to promote shipbuilding in Annapolis and, indirectly, it promoted other related industries. Another public shipyard was located in Cecil County. In 1744, the residents of Charles-town on the Northeast River contributed to the construction of a "Public Wharf and Store-house in the said Town, for the Advancement of the Trade . . .."[465] This act also provided for the purchase (or seizure) of two acres adjacent to the town for a public road and shipyard.

> Commissioners for the said Town are hereby empowered, to fix upon any Place . . . convenient for a Ship-Yard to the said Town and Common, and to agree for Two Acres of Land, with the Owner or Owners thereof, which if they cannot do upon reasonable Terms, then they shall cause a Jury, in the usual Manner, to be summoned and impaneled by the Sheriff, to value the said Land; which Value so assessed the said Commissioners shall tender and pay the said Owner or Owners, out of the public money collected and belonging to the Public of said Town; and the said Two acres of Land shall for ever be deemed to belong to the Public thereof: . . . all Persons Building

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[464] Archives of Maryland, 33: 379-380.

[465] Thomas Bacon, *Laws of Maryland At Large, with proper Indexes* (Annapolis: Jonas Green, 1765), 463-468.

> any Ship or other Vessel on the said Ground, above the Length of Twenty Foot Keel, shall pay to the Commissioners for the public Use of the said Town... not to exceed Six-pence Current Money per Ton, for License to build any Ship or other Vessel thereon: And that the Commissioners . . . have also Power to lay out a convenient Cart-Road to the said Ship-Yard, so as to do the least Damage they possibly can to the Owner of the said land; and which Road shall be always kept open and free for the Use of the said Ship-Yard.[466]

Clearly, this was intended to be a permanent shipyard that was to be used by local shipbuilders for the benefit of the public.

Many sources for shipbuilding in Maryland do not mention where in the colony specific vessels were constructed, although some examples do survive. Quite a few vessels were built in Anne Arundel County between 1730 and 1760. Ships were being built on the South River near London Town in the 1730s. The sloop *Biddy* (James Donaldson owner, William Coughlan, master) and the ship *Frederick* were both constructed on the South River in 1733. Christopher Grindall, a property owner in London Town, was the builder as well as one of the owners of the *Frederick.*[467]

Three vessels were built in the southern part of the county, at Herring Bay, between 1733 and 1735: the 15-ton sloop *Charming Molly,* the 30-ton sloop *Tryal,* and the 20-ton schooner *Hawke.*[468] More ships were built in Annapolis than in any other part of the county. In 1733, John Casdrop built an unnamed schooner in Annapolis for Dr. Charles Carroll. The vessel was 38 feet by the keel with a 17-foot beam.[469] Carroll also owned the 30-ton schooner *Annapolis.* It was built in the

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[466] Bacon, *Laws of Maryland,* 468.

[467] Maryland Historical Society, Manuscript Collections, J. Earle, "Maryland Built Ships 1680-1910," MdHS MS 2306-Box 2, Sheet 8.

[468] Earle, "Maryland Built Ships," MdHS MS 2306-Box 2, Sheet 8.

[469] Earle, "Maryland Built Ships," MdHS MS 2306-Box 2, Sheet 7.

capital around 1740 and was captained by London Town's Alexander Scougall.[470] The 90-ton snow *Samuel* was built in Annapolis in 1733. Ropewalk owner Asbury Sutton owned half of this vessel.[471] The 60-ton schooner *Baltimore* was built in Annapolis in 1734. The 85-ton snow *James* also was built in Annapolis in 1740. Patrick Creagh owned the vessel and Thomas Askew was master.[472] The 250-ton *Lyon* was built in the capital over the winter of 1756. Initially owned by William Roberts of Annapolis, the vessel was purchased by London merchant James Buchanan during her first year at sea.[473] Though these data are anecdotal, they show that Anne Arundel County and the South River area were home to shipbuilding operations. It also shows that vessels of all sizes were constructed in the county, meeting local, coastal, and transatlantic transportation needs for Anne Arundel County residents and foreigners alike.

The Revolutionary War period (from 1775 to 1783) advanced the shipbuilding industry as well as rope production, as local shipbuilders such as Anne Arundel County's Stephen Steward of West River, increased production to meet the needs of Maryland's "state" navy. The Stephen Steward Shipyard will be addressed below.

Maryland Shipbuilding Trends

There are two bodies of data from the eighteenth century that provide two different types of information on shipbuilding trends in colonial Maryland. The

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[470] Earle, "Maryland Built Ships," MdHS MS 2306-Box 2, Sheet 6.

[471] Earle, "Maryland Built Ships," MdHS MS 2306-Box 2, Sheet 8.

[472] Earle, "Maryland Built Ships," MdHS MS 2306-Box 2, Sheet 6.

[473] Earle, "Maryland Built Ships," MdHS MS 2306-Box 2, Sheet 5.

first set, ship registrations from the Council of Maryland's Commission Books, shows where ships were built, their tonnage and the vessel type for the period from 1725 until approximately 1750. The Commission Book contains lists of ships built in the colony, as well as the general location of the shipyards and provides data for a colony-wide comparison as to how many ships and what type of vessels were built. The second data set, the Port of Annapolis records, provides information on shipbuilding in Maryland, but only for ships that used the Port of Annapolis in Anne Arundel County. (See Chapter 6.) Both sets of data are useful resources for information about shipbuilding in Maryland.[474]

The ship registration lists show that 79% (235) of the 296 vessels registered in Maryland between 1733 and 1750, were built in Maryland between 1722 and 1750. During this period, 54% (128) of these vessels were built on the Eastern Shore, with Somerset County having been home to 31% (73) of those constructed. Anne Arundel County was second in ship construction with more than 19% (46 vessels) of the total. Worchester and Cecil counties each built about 17% (20 vessels). The remaining counties of Talbot, Baltimore, Dorchester, and Kent built about ten vessels each (17%). (Chart 7.2)

Two hundred and thirty-five of the vessels were qualified by type: shallop, snow, sloop, brigantine, schooner (after 1730), or ship. Forty-six percent (108) of the vessels were sloops, 40 of which were built in Somerset County on the Eastern Shore. Schooners comprised 25% (27) of the vessel types, ships 13% (14), brigantines 11% (12), snows four percent (four), and shallops with only one

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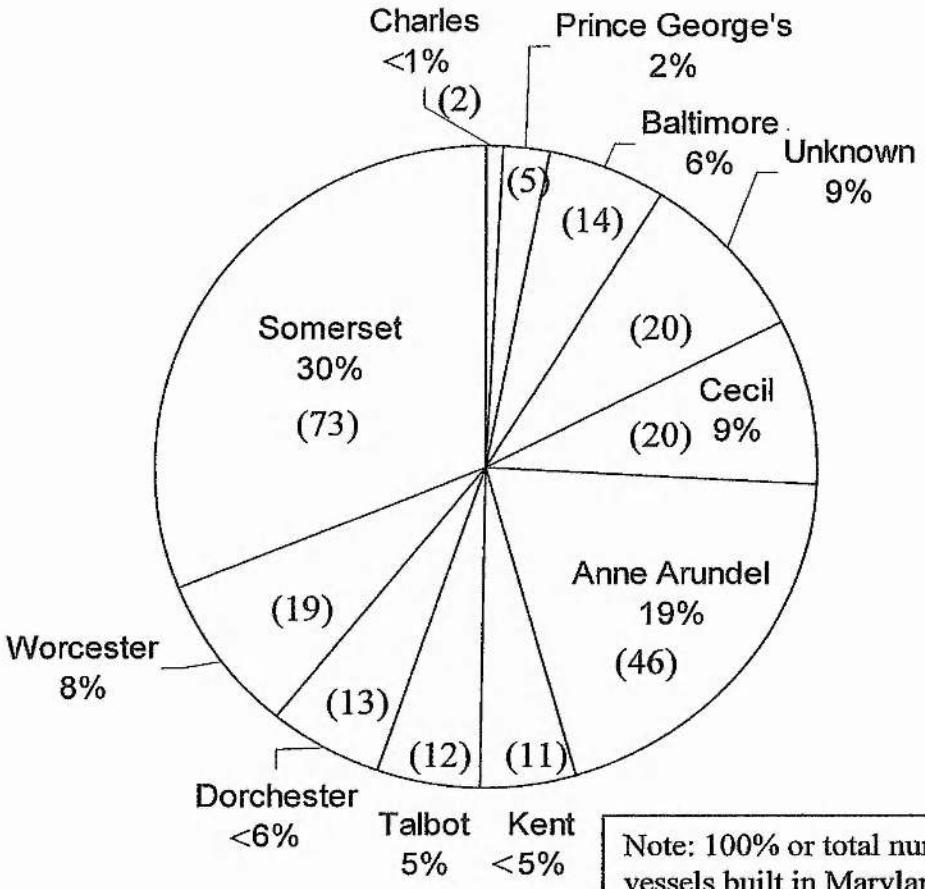
[474] These books hold commissions for naval officers, ministers, surveyors, etc during the colonial period. See: "Commission Book 82" Governor and the Council of Maryland (Commission Record) Maryland State Archive collection SM171. Description: 1733-1750, 1761-1773; Microfilm: MSA No.: SM 171-2. A transcribed copy of Commission Book 82 can also be found in *Maryland Historical Magazine* Vol. 26: 138-158, 244-263, and 342-361, and Vol. 27:29-36, 1931.

Chart 7.2
Number of Ships Built in Maryland
from 1722-1751, by County



Note: 100% or total number of vessels built in Maryland from 1722-1751=235.
* Unknown= county building location not know.

Data from: "Commission Book 82" *Governor and the Council of Maryland* (Commission Record) Maryland State Archive collection SM171. Description: 1733-1750, 1761-1773; Accession No.: 4012-1; MSA No.: S 1080-4; Location: 2/26/3/13; Microfilm: MSA No.: SM 171-2. A transcribed copy of Commission Book 82 can also be found in *Maryland Historical Magazine* Vol. 26: 138-158, 244-263, and 342-361, and Vol. 27:29-36, 1931. Provided by Jason Moser.

percent (one). Very small vessels, such as shallops, may not have been registered because of their negligible tonnage. Although the type listed in Maryland's Commission Books do not include many sloops, earlier records indicate that they were very popular in the Chesapeake for personal use as transportation and livery vessels. (Chart 7.3)

The highest tonnage vessel type built in Maryland was the ship with an average capacity of 154 tons; the largest Maryland ships could carry 300 tons. Snows averaged an 86-ton capacity. Brigantines averaged 53 tons, and both schooners and sloops averaged around 30 tons. Shallops were the smallest vessels built in Maryland, averaging only ten tons. (Chart 7.4) Ships of all styles and varying cargo capacities were being built in Maryland to accommodate the tobacco trade, coastal trade and shipping to the West Indies.

The Port of Annapolis Records indicated 89 vessels were built in Maryland between 1743 and 1760. Unfortunately, where in Maryland the vessels were constructed remains a mystery. The port records only indicate "Maryland" as the origin; no towns or counties were recorded. The documented vessels varied in size and build. The average burden was 75 tons. The smallest vessel had a capacity of only ten tons; the largest 300 tons. There were five different types of build: hackboat (or hekboot), flute, pink, round, and square. The square-built vessel was by far the most popular form at 90%. The hackboat and flute styles were represented by only one vessel each.[475] This record set (Port of Annapolis Records) differs from the Commission Books in that it recorded the vessel's build (square, round, etc.) instead of the vessel type (sloop, ship, brigantine, etc.). Most

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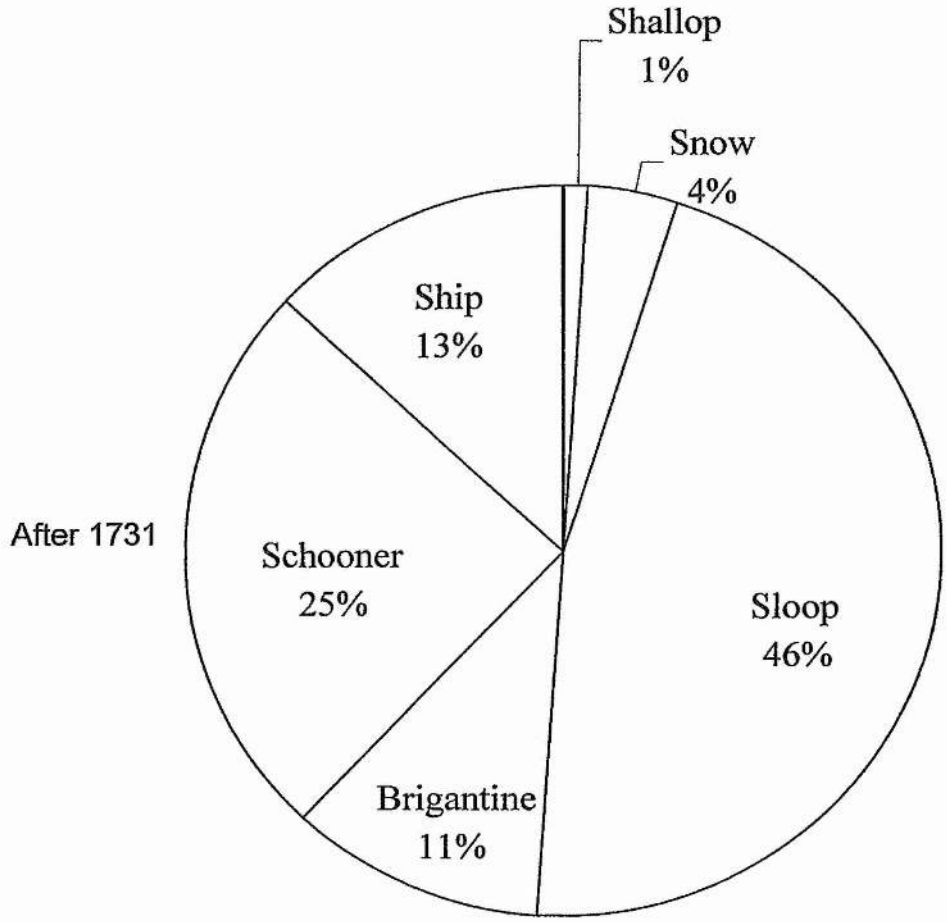
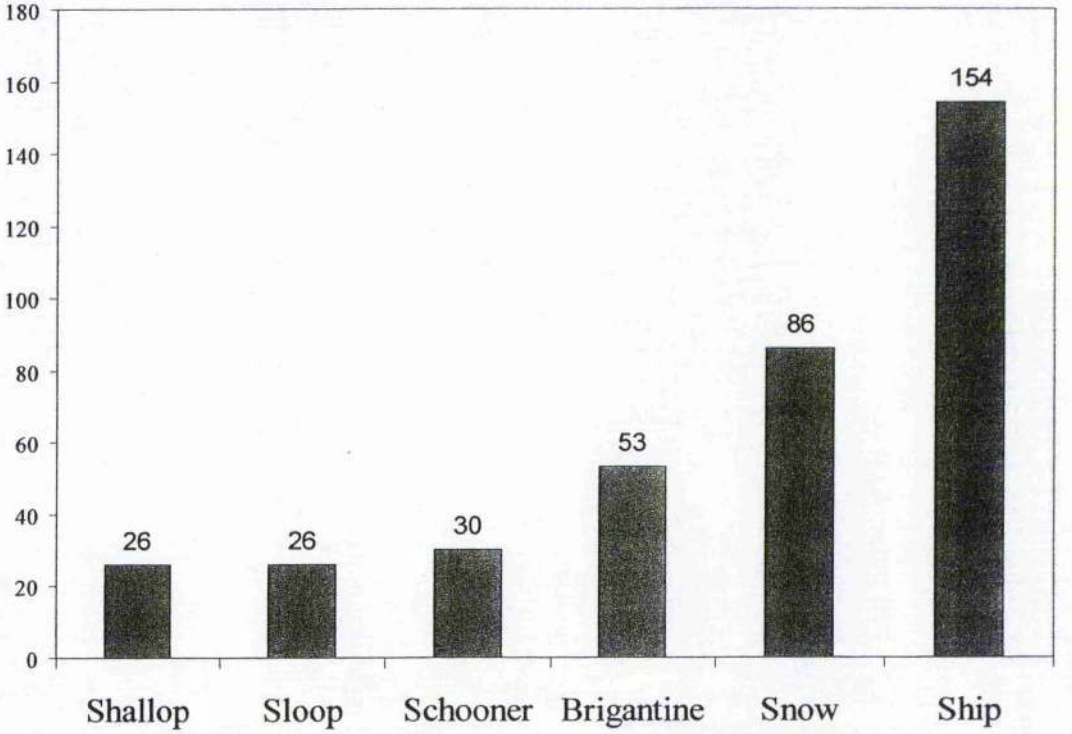
[475] Both Maryland-built ships. The *Swan* was noted as a hackboat of 30 tons, built in 1756. The *Good Intent* was noted as a flute style vessel of 35 tons, built in 1750.

Chart 7.3
Vessels Types Built in Maryland
from 1722 to1751



Data from: "Commission Book 82" *Governor and the Council of Maryland* (Commission Record) Maryland State Archive collection SM171. Description: 1733-1750, 1761-1773; Accession No.: 4012-1; MSA No.: S 1080-4; Location: 2/26/3/13; Microfilm: MSA No.: SM 171-2. A transcribed copy of Commission Book 82 can also be found in *Maryland Historical Magazine* Vol. 26: 138-158, 244-263, and 342-361, and Vol. 27:29-36, 1931. Provided by Jason Moser.

Chart 7.4
Average Tonnage of Vessels Built
in Maryland from 1722-1751, by Type



Data from: "Commission Book 82" *Governor and the Council of Maryland* (Commission Record) Maryland State Archive collection SM171. Description: 1733-1750, 1761-1773; Accession No.: 4012-1; MSA No.: S 1080-4; Location: 2/26/3/13; Microfilm: MSA No.: SM 171-2. A transcribed copy of Commission Book 82 can also be found in *Maryland Historical Magazine* Vol. 26: 138-158, 244-263, and 342-361, and Vol. 27:29-36, 1931. Provided by Jason Moser.

of these Maryland-built vessels were registered in Annapolis (70%) but a few were registered in Britain and in other colonies, suggesting outside ownership. Fifteen percent of the vessels were registered in London and other English cities. Maryland ports, other than Annapolis, held eight percent of the registrations; whereas, seven percent were held by other colonies. Therefore, Maryland merchants owned the majority of Maryland-built vessels during this period. Clearly, Maryland's shipbuilding industry was very important to colonial trade and contributed to local economies.

As mentioned previously, British merchants also liked colonial-built vessels as they could be built cheaper than in Britain. Thus, ships were built in Maryland, sold to British merchants, and used in the tobacco trade. Maryland not only exported tobacco but also the vessels on which it was transported.

By the American Revolution (1776), one-third of British shipping was American-built.[476] New England still dominated colonial shipbuilding in the late eighteenth century with over 60% of American vessels coming from the colonies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. The Chesapeake region of Maryland and Virginia was the second most productive shipbuilding area with 16% of the colonial market.[477] The colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York combined produced nearly 20% and the southern colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia made up five-percent of colonial shipbuilding. (Chart 7.5)

The availability of plentiful, affordable materials and cheap labor made

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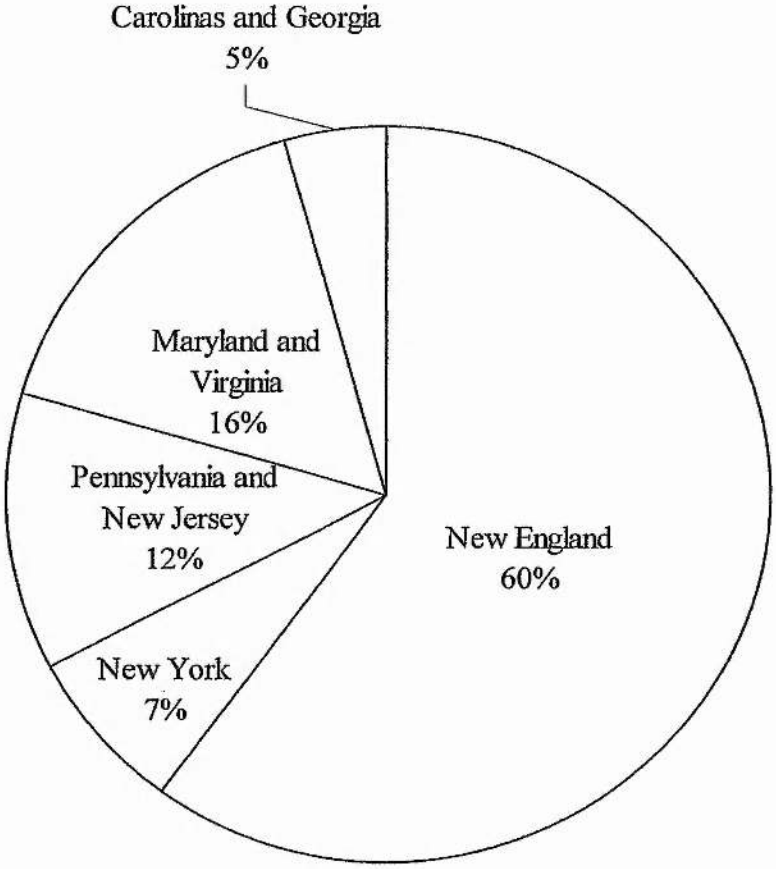
[476] Joseph A. Goldenberg, "An Analysis of Shipbuilding Sites in Lloyd's Register of 1776," *The Mariner's Mirror* 59, no. 4 (1973): 419.

[477] Goldenberg, "Shipbuilding Sites in Lloyd's Register of 1776," 420.

Chart 7.5
Percent of American Vessels Built at Colonial Shipbuilding Sites in Lloyd's Register, 1776



Data from: Joseph A. Goldenburg, "An Analysis of Shipbuilding Sites in Lloyd's Register of 1776: *The Mariners Mirror* 59 (9173): 433.

colonial shipbuilding a profitable enterprise. Although New England was dominant throughout the colonial period, Maryland-built vessels were sailing the world with tobacco for British and American merchants alike.

Building Warships in Anne Arundel County: Stephen Steward Shipyard

One of the best-documented colonial shipyards in Maryland is the Stephen Steward Shipyard located on the West River in Anne Arundel County. (Figure 7.1) This shipyard operated from 1753 until 1791 and the death of Steward.[478] Merchant Samuel Galloway of West River (who sold goods in both Annapolis and London Town) purchased many of Steward's vessels for the tobacco trade and they became partners in the shipyard.

Steward also built multiple vessels for the Council of Safety, Maryland's organizing body for the militia. Steward, Galloway and their partner Smyth had difficulty honoring a contract for seven small vessels, which included row-galleys and gondolas.[479] Moreover, it seems that Steward had problems with the Council regarding other vessels. He apparently felt under-appreciated but clearly was involved in building many vessels for the defense of the colony:

> Since I have undertaken this business for you I have been offered a commission from a neighboring State, a commission to buy three ships which would been to me attest £150 in my way, the hole reason my not excepting of this commission was I was employed by the Council of Safety for the Province. You have employed three other yards to do your business. Have anyone of them turned you off one signal vessel but myself? I have built, rebuilt, rigged, fitted and been at all the trouble for four fine vessels for

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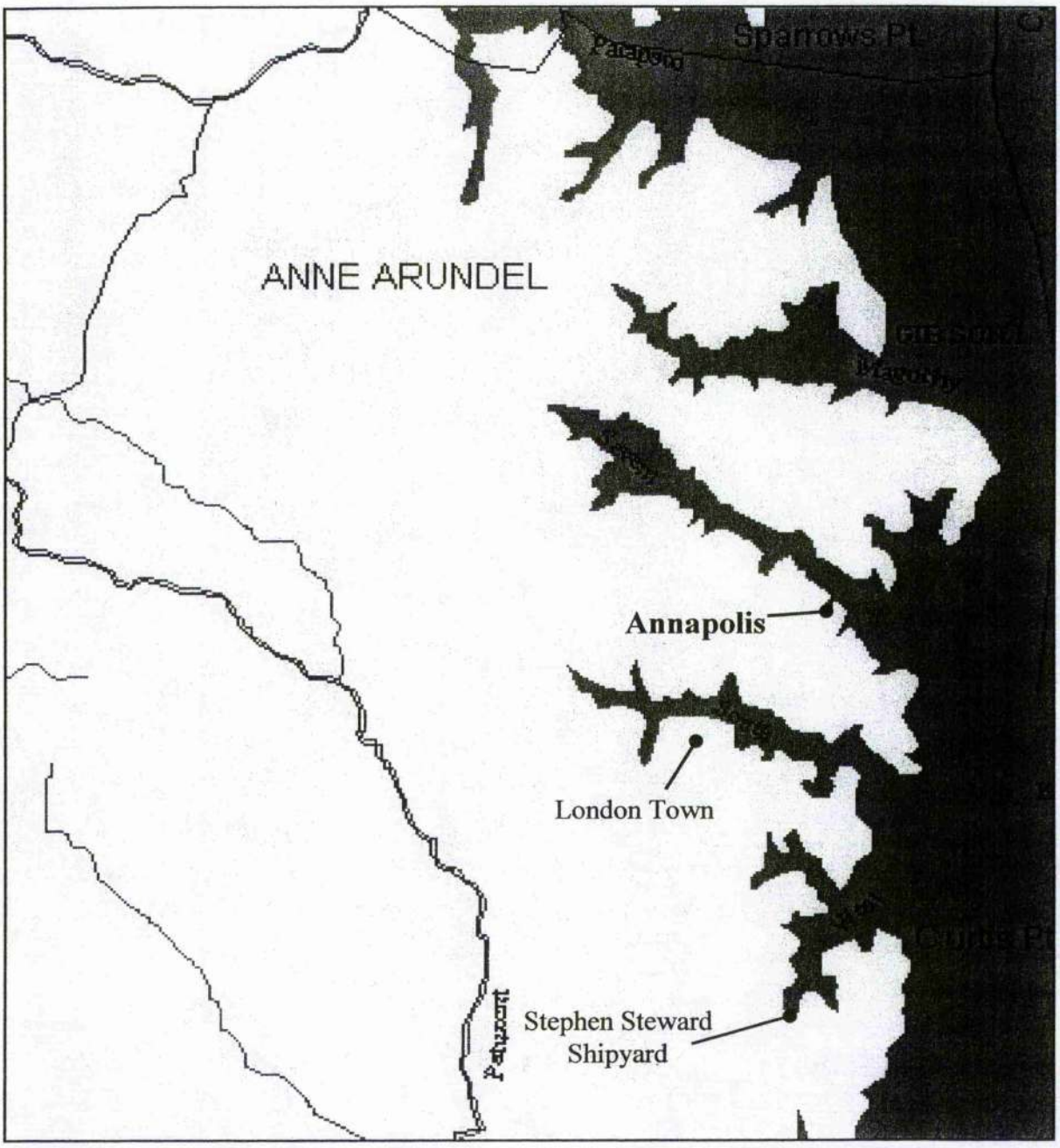
[478] Jason Moser and Jane Cox, *Stephen Steward's Shipyard* (18AN817); *Geophysical, Archaeological and Historical Investigations* (Annapolis, MD: Anne Arundel County Planning and Zoning, 2001), 18.

[479] Archives of Maryland, Journal of the Maryland Convention July 26-August 14, 1775 and Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety August 29, 1775- July 6, 1776, ed. William Hand Brown (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1892) 11: 516-517.

Figure 7.1
Location of Stephen Steward Shipyard



Stephen Steward Shipyard is approximately 6 miles from London Town and 10 miles from Annapolis, by water.

> you without the assistance of a Captain even provided men and provisions, and have the fifth and sixth vessel almost ready for you . . . .[480]

Steward also mentioned building brigs and galleys armed with guns. The Council employed Steward's yard to repair existing vessels and to provide cordage and rigging for state vessels through the Lux & Bowley's ropewalk (Chatsworth) in Baltimore. By 1777, Steward and Galloway built seven galleys and nine armed vessels for the Council of Safety.[481]

Steward's shipyard apparently was well known, even to British spies. The shipyard was not defended early in the war. In the spring of 1781, it was attacked and burned by British troops from the vessels *Monk* and *Hope*.[482] However, after its destruction, the shipyard was rebuilt and again produced vessels for the Council of Safety, which thereafter provided protection for the shipyard. In 1783, after receiving information that the shipyard was in imminent danger, the Council of Safety ordered that a "company of Men from Frederick Town, to be stationed at Mr. Stephen Steward's, for the Protection of the State Ship . . ." at West River.[483]

It is unclear how many vessels Steward's shipyard produced during the period 1753 until 1791: maybe as few as 24, perhaps many more.[484] Between 1756 and 1759, Samuel Galloway owned four Maryland-built vessels that probably were built at the Steward Shipyard due to Stewart's relationship with Galloway and the

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[480] Archives of Maryland, 12: 546. Stephen Steward to the Council of Safety December 1776. Transcribed by the author for clarity.

[481] Archives of Maryland, *Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety January 1-March 20, 1777* and *Journal and Correspondence of the State Council March 20, 1777-March 28, 1778*, ed. William Hand Browne (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1897) 16: 81.

[482] Moser and Cox, *Steward Shipyard,* 22.

[483] Archives of Maryland, *Journal and Correspondence of the State Council of Maryland 1781-1784*, ed. J. Hall Pleasants (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1931) 48: 360 and 357.

[484] Bruce F. Thompson, *A Preliminary Report of Archaeological Investigations at the Stephen Steward Shipyard Site* (18AN817) (Crownsville, MD: Maryland Historical Trust, 1993).

closeness of Steward's shipyard to Galloway's home: the *Swan* (30 tons), the *West River* (40 tons), *Two Sisters* (160 tons) and the *Dragon* (130 tons). Regardless of how many ships Steward built, his operation demonstrates how the colony began to manufacture and maintain its own vessels and shipbuilding materials. Steward worked with the ropewalk owned by Lux & Bowley of Baltimore and probably with other ropewalks in Annapolis and London Town. The more ships Steward built, the more rope he needed, and the greater the demand that was placed on local manufacturers such as Lux & Bowley. The productivity of the Stephen Steward Shipyard and the other shipbuilding operations previously mentioned shows that by the 1760s Maryland was home to a strong shipbuilding industry in which Anne Arundel County played a major role.

Materials and Industries Related to Shipbuilding

Flax and Hemp, Linen and Rope

Tobacco was the predominant crop in the Chesapeake region, but other agricultural products, such as flax and hemp played a role in Anne Arundel County's economy. Flax and hemp were two materials essential to the building and maintenance of any vessel. Fiber from the flax plant was used to make linen and canvas for sails. The flaxseeds were processed for linseed oil that was used in paint, in lamps and as a protective treatment for wood. The seed was also used as a lubricant when launching vessels: it was scattered on the launch way producing oil when crushed.[485] The fiber from the hemp plant was the basis for cordage and rope. Cordage to outfit a vessel was usually the second-largest expenditure when

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[485] Dr. Susan Langley, personal communication, 20 February, 2003.

building a ship; as much as 20% of the total cost.[486] It also was used to make paper and strong fabrics (often mixed with flax). Hemp seed was used for animal feed. Hemp fiber also was used to caulk the seams of vessels. Oakum, hemp or flax fiber mixed with tar, was stuffed into the spaces between deck and hull planking to help make vessels watertight. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a vessel could not be built without the use of materials derived from hemp and flax.

Flax was grown in Anne Arundel County and its seed was exported to Britain. (See Chapter 6.) The fiber remained in the colony (there is no evidence of it being exported from the Port of Annapolis) and was used to make fabrics. Hemp was grown in western Maryland and its fiber was distributed throughout the colony to be used to manufacture rope in the ropewalks and for the weaving of fabrics. One of these rope-manufacturing operations was located at London Town.

As early as 1671, the Maryland Assembly under the direction of Charles Calvert (the third Lord Baltimore and Proprietor of Maryland, from 1675 to 1715) promoted the cultivation of both hemp and flax; however, this early law seems to promote the production of fiber for sale, perhaps for export. The act, established in 1672 stated that anyone:

> Employed or hired cause or procure to be tilled any quantity of ground or land upon his or their plantation aforesaid and thereupon sow any linseed otherwise called flax seed or hemp seed and shall upon reaping the crop of such tilling and sowing cause the said crop of flax of hemp to be braked, swinglded and made merchantable for sale . . . [will] receive the sum or quantity of one hundred pounds of tobacco for every one hundred pound of hemp or flax . . . [487]

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[486] Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding*, 95.

This legislation further acknowledged that the colonies were dependent on Britain for materials that could be produced in Maryland, and took steps to encourage the populace to grow hemp and flax. It is not clear if this legislation was successful. A similar act was presented to the Assembly in the spring of 1695.[488]

In 1720, the Board of Trade provided the Maryland Assembly with a manual on the "rules for raising and making of hemp."[489] The Board hoped to encourage colonial hemp fiber production to support Britain's naval stores. The manual provided step-by-step procedures on planting, tending, and harvesting hemp. It also provided information on the economic requirements and benefits of growing hemp. It included as a selling point, no doubt aimed at Maryland planters: "The premiums allowed by Act of Parliament for all hemp imported from foreign plantations is £6 per tun."[490]

During the eighteenth century, other publications promoted and explained the process of growing flax and hemp. Lionel Slator's *Instructions for the Cultivating and Raising of Flax and Hemp* (1735) and Edmund Quincy's A *Treatise of Hemp-husbandry*... (1765) were published in Boston. A Frenchman named Marcandier wrote a treatise on hemp cultivation, which was translated and published in Boston in 1766 as *An Abstract of the Most Useful Parts of a Late Treatise on Hemp.* "The Manner of Raising and Dressing Flax and Hemp" was published with a series of essays on farming techniques in 1777. In addition, Abbe

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[487] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, April 1666-June 1676*, ed. William Hand Browne (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1884), 2: 299-301. Transcribed by the author for clarity.

[488] Archives of Maryland, 19: 173.

[489] Archives of Maryland, 33: 544.

[490] Archives of Maryland, 33: 549.

Brulles wrote *The Mode of Cultivating and Dressing Hemp,* which was published for the Board of Trade in 1790. Clearly, the colonial planter had access to information on flax and hemp cultivation and production throughout the eighteenth century.

In 1723, the Maryland Assembly again addressed the production of hemp, apparently as a response to the failing tobacco market:

> An Act Giving Encouragement to Make Hemp Within this Province. Forasmuch as the tobacco-trade is reduced to very mean circumstances, and it is generally thought that the making of hemp will be of great use, not only to this province, but to the Kingdom of Great-Britain, for supplying of naval stores.[491]

Although the act was instigated at the colonial government level, it was encouraged and directly managed by the county administration. Hemp growers were to apply to their county sheriff for a bounty of 50 pounds of tobacco for every hundredweight of hemp.[492] This act was viable for three years. It does not seem that this scheme took hold quickly, but over the next 20 years, ropewalks opened in both Annapolis and London Town. Hemp was the main ingredient of rope making and ropes were a main ingredient for shipbuilding and maintenance, clearly making them essential components of the county's maritime economy. Government-supplied bounties gave Marylanders a reason to grow something other than tobacco (and records suggest that they did), although the level of production is unknown.

Throughout the eighteenth century, London Town residents and South River planters possessed the equipment for spinning, weaving, and rope making. Of 30 planters and merchants in the immediate area between 1687 and 1785, eight

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[491] Archives of Maryland, 36: 564.

[492] Archives of Maryland, 36: 564.

had spinning wheels in their probate inventories.[493] One merchant-planter, Richard Moore (d. 1734) owned seven spinning wheels.[494] Mariner William Strachan owned two spinning wheels (perhaps one for each of his daughters).[495] The residents also owned flax heckles and other tools for processing hemp and flax.

There is also evidence of flax cultivation and processing in London Town. Alexander Ferguson was London Town's tailor from 1748 until his death in 1770. He owned many lots in London Town and the family operated an ordinary in the town for over 20 years. It is difficult to gauge Ferguson's level of production during his time in London Town. However, at his death in 1770, he possessed a flaxbreak, spindles, cranks, cards and a large spinning wheel as well as 12 bushels of flaxseed.[496] He also owned ropewalk equipment. His inventory contained both country-made cloth and new rope. It is very likely that Ferguson was involved in the London Town Manufactory (established in 1748 and in operation until the 1770s), a ropewalk owned by Stephen West and James Dick.

Another indicator of spinning and fabric production in the London Town area is the existence of a fulling mill at the head of the South River from 1757 until the Revolutionary War, which was operated by John Ducker.[497] Fulling mills were used to wash (using clay) and prepare woolen cloth for use after weaving. Many London Town and Anne Arundel County residents also owned sheep and the equipment for the processing and spinning wool. Wool and flax threads were often mixed to make a course, homespun fabric call linsey-woolsey. The establishment

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[493] For a study of London Town Probate documents see: Mechelle Kerns, "London Town: The Life of a Colonial Town, " MA Thesis, University of Maryland Baltimore County, 1999.

[494] MSA, AA Co. Probate Inventory Liber 21, folio 12, 1734: Richard Moore.

[495] MSA, AA Co. Probate Inventory Liber 36, folio 211, 1768: William Strachan.

[496] MSA, AA Co. Probate Inventory Liber 106, folio 274, 1770: Alexander Ferguson.

of such a mill points to a high level of country-made cloth in Anne Arundel County. An increase in domestic production also may be attributed to technological modifications to the handloom. During the colonial period all weaving was done on a handloom worked by one person (or two in the case of broadcloth) working a shuttle, or thread guide, back and forth by hand. However, after 1738 changes in the handloom led to higher output by individual weavers with the introduction of a timesaving mechanism, called the "flying-shuttle," which made handlooms much more efficient.[498]

Colonial linen was made from flax, hemp, or a mixture of the two. In 1740, the Maryland Assembly created an elaborate scheme to promote not only the cultivation of hemp and flax, but also the spinning and weaving of the fibers into fabric. It was promoted as a way to benefit the poor and encourage the spinning and weaving industry in the Maryland colony.

> Whereas several Inhabitants of this Province, especially the poorer sort, cannot provide necessary Clothing, particularly Linen, for themselves and their Families, by their produce of their crops of Tobacco in the present low state of that Commodity, and that making Linen Cloth of Flax and Hemp of the Growth of the Country, would be of great Advantage to the People thereof in general, and therefore, and to the end that so useful and beneficial a Work may be encouraged.[499]

This scheme clearly encouraged cultivation and manufacture of finished wares, which was something the Board of Trade, had fought very hard to control. It also established an inter-county (and inter-colony) competition for the best linen. Each piece had to be a minimum of 20 yards long (60 feet), and one yard wide in

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[497] *Maryland Gazette*, October 6, 1757, February 17, 1768 and October 10, 1776.

[498] For more on the handloom see: Sir Edward Baines, *History of the cotton manufacture in Great Britain*, 2nd ed. (New York, A. M. Kelley, 1966).

[499] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland 1740-1744*, ed. Bernard Christian Steiner (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1923), 42: 144.

order to qualify, and was judged against other fabric from the same county. The final product had to be produced (grown, processed, spun and woven) completely in the same county. Furthermore, the producer of each piece of fabric would be awarded a bounty based on the quality. For example, £6 to the best piece, £5 to the second best, £2.5.0 to the next best and so on to the tenth best piece of linen from each county.[500] If the scheme was followed, each county would produce a minimum of 200 yards of country-made linen each year: in total 2,400 yards. The names of the best linen producers were recorded in the county court judgments each year. This act was renewed until 1747 and a similar linen bounty scheme was used in the 1760s.

It seems that the actions of the Maryland governor and legislators were subversive to the wishes of the Board of Trade. These different acts promoted diversification of crops (from tobacco to flax and hemp) and manufacturing, albeit as a cottage industry. In a 1766 report from Governor Sharpe to the Board of Trade, the governor seems to down-play manufacturing in the colony regardless of the long history of promoting hemp and flax cultivation and linen manufacturing. He wrote:

> No manufactures of any consequence hath been established here . . . many of the planters and farmers have some coarse clothing, both woolen and linen made in their families but scarcely any can make for themselves as much as they have occasion for. No public encouragement is given here for making any manufactures except as small bounty paid annually until the year 1760, by the county courts . . . Should any manufactures be hereafter set up here or any encouragement be given for carrying them on I will not fail to advise your lordships thereof . . . [501]

Perhaps the governor and assembly told the Board of Trade what they

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[500] Archives of Maryland, 42: 145.

wanted to hear, while promoting what was good for the colony. Surely, Sharpe did not mention that the colony had the potential (at governmental encouragement) to manufacture 2,400 yards (or 7,200 square feet) of linen a year by 1766. Alternatively, the level of domestic production may not have been considered "manufacturing" in the factory sense but seen as localized production for local use. Admittedly, this was not enough fabric to make a set of sails, however, it was undoubtedly a domestic product that could have been used in maintaining and repairing vessels.

The best information on the production of linen, canvas, and rope in Maryland is from the years immediately preceding and during the American Revolution (from 1775 to 1783). When Britain began to levy taxes on goods imported to the colonies in the 1760s (Sugar Act, 1764; Stamp Act, 1765), the American colonists began to produce more goods for their own consumption. In 1767, the colony of Massachusetts called for nonimportation agreements between the colonies and Britain and as the popularity of nonimportation grew, so did colonial manufacturing.

By 1771, flaxseed was such a popular export that the Maryland Assembly enacted regulations regarding the weight and measure of barrels of flaxseed and established a one-shilling per hundred bushel tax, paid to the inspecting officer.[502] Shipping records clearly show that large quantities of flaxseed were exported from Maryland, beginning in the 1760s. (See Chapter 6.)

Antebellum linen production may have been for personal or domestic use but

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[501] Archives of Maryland, *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe*, Vol. III 1761-1771, ed. William Hand Browne (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1895), 14: 359

the need for naval stores and clothing for the Maryland militia became acute in the late 1770s and a true manufacturing system was established to meet such demand. By July of 1775, the Continental Congress recommended that each colony appoint a Committee of Safety to oversee the security and defense of each colony during the recess of their assemblies. The committee concerned itself with the policy of resistance including licensing privateers, instituting boycotts, organizing and procuring supplies for the militia.[503] In August of 1775, Anne Arundel County official Gabriel Duvall requested the first Council of Safety meeting in Maryland.[504] The transcripts of the Council of Safety show that hemp and flax production, as well as spinning and weaving, were important to Maryland's defense. Manufacturers and merchants made contracts with the Council of Safety and the Constitutional Convention. For example, Archer & Harris provided hemp linen (269 yards), to the Council of Safety in August 1776.[505] They wished to have more, but complained that some of their weavers had joined the militia or raised their prices.

Another merchant set up manufacturing in Prince George's County to meet the new demand for war related materials. Stephen West, Jr., who was originally from London Town, had substantial experience with hemp, spinning, and rope making by the 1770s. In 1748, he opened a ropewalk in London Town with his

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[502] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland 1771 to June –July*, 1773, ed. Raphael Semmes (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1946), 63: 267.

[503] Archives of Maryland Online, State Agency Histories, "Council of Safety," MSA-SH24.

[504] Maryland State Archives, S 1004-2-16; MdHR 6636-2-1; Location: 1/7/3/25- Gabriel Duvall.

[505] Archives of Maryland, 12: 193.

merchant partner James Dick.[506] However, by 1776 West was overseeing a linen manufactory (near Upper Marlborough in Prince George's County) that was experimenting with different ways to make strong, utilitarian fabrics. Apparently, he was not very familiar with the weaving techniques but employed a number of people in spinning and weaving.

> To The Honorable Council of Safety
> We are manufacturing a species of linen cloth, that I think if pursued would be of great public utility. We take the tow of flax and hemp, card it into rolls, spin it on the great wheel: then double and twist it and weave it: it will make good tents, bagging, wagon cloths, coarse sheets, sails & etc. 'tis soft and pliable and the doubling and twisting makes it exceeding strong. Our women spin in these days 2 1/2 lbs. each, it is carded for them. The doubling and twisting is new to me, perhaps it may be so to others, and if it prove useful, my intention will be gratified. If the tow thread is warped and filled in with ordinary wove; it will make good fearnaught and bedding.
> I am your affectionate Servant, Stephen West[507]

In August of 1776, two Marylanders approached the Council of Safety with a plan for large-scale spinning and weaving, asking for start-up money from the government. Alexander McFadon wanted to open "a linen, woolen, and cotton manufactory, in or near Frederick-town . . . to manufacture annually 50 thousand yards" of fabric in Kent County.[508] His original request for public funding was denied but he apparently went on to establish a weaving operation: "I have at a very considerable expense prepared a house that will contain looms and all other utensils for carrying on the weaving business."[509] By September he was able to

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[506] Also known as a 'ropery,' a place were rope is made (OED). During the 17th and 18th centuries in the colonies ropewalks were usually crude structures, long and narrow (upwards of 300 feet or more) with a shed at one end to cover the rope wheel (used to twist smaller cord into rope) with a series of elevated stands to hold the rope off the ground and a hook at the far end that would turn allowing the cords to be twisted. As the rope wheel was turned, the cords were incorporated into different gauges of rope. See Figure 7.2.

[507] Archives of Maryland, 12: 427-428. Transcribed by the author for clarity.

[508] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings of the Conventions or the Province of Maryland, The City of Annapolis, 1774, 1775, & 1776* (Baltimore: James Lucas & E. K. Deaver and Annapolis: Jonas Green, 1836), 78: 70-72.

[509] Archives of Maryland, 12: 268.

present the Council with 239 yards of fabric and projected that he could produce 100 yards of linen per day once fully established.

Edward Parker of Cecil County also asked for public funding for his weaving operation. He had a weaving house with five handlooms. The Council of Safety offered him a contract and provided advance funding to expand his weaving production.

> Resolved, therefore, That the sum of three hundred pounds, out of the Public treasury, be advanced to the said Edward Parker, upon his giving bond with good security, for the delivery of the value of two hundred pounds, in good, strong, merchantable linen cloth, manufactured in this Province, on or before the first day of May next; and the value of one hundred pounds, in good, merchantable linen or woollen cloth, manufactured in this province, on the first day of November next, of such quality as he may be directed, and at such prices and rates as this or a future convention shall allow.[510]

Apparently, flax and hemp cultivation was well established by the time of the American Revolution so that with the introduction of more looms and weavers, the colony was able to increase production dramatically in a time of need. The amounts of linen and hemp fabric produced before the 1770s are difficult to estimate. However, after 1775, for example, four manufactories, in four different counties were able to produce perhaps as much as 100,000 yards of fabric in a year.

There was also an increase in rope production during the war. In October 1776, the Council asked Baltimore merchants Lux & Bowley for a contract to make cordage. They apparently were known for making rope: "We have received your favor of the 1st instant and provided you will engage to begin making cordage for our armed vessels within ten days from this time and will continue in that business until a sufficient quantity is supplied, we desire you will immediately

come down and contract with us for it."[511] In less than a week, Lux & Bowley replied to the Council of Safety informing them that they would not contract for a date to supply the requested cordage. They were too busy making rope for others including Anne Arundel County shipbuilder Stephen Steward on the West River, just south of London Town.[512]

Ropewalks in Colonial Maryland

In comparison with other trades in the Chesapeake, rope manufacturing began late in the colonial period. This was probably due to an insufficient supply of raw materials (hemp) and the lack of skilled labor and appropriate facilities.[513] The cultivation of hemp increased as people migrated from east to west, from the Tidewater Chesapeake region to the Piedmont and into the western parts of Maryland and Virginia during the 1760s and 1770s.[514] This geographic shift away from the Coastal Plain promoted the cultivation of new crops such as hemp and wheat in northwestern Anne Arundel which is the boundary between the Coastal Plain (Tidewater region) and Piedmont Plateau in Maryland.[515] The soils in the coastal areas are sandy and thus more suited for tobacco; whereas, areas to the west are more suited for grains. Towns in Prince George's County, such as Upper

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[510] Archives of Maryland, 78: 72.

[511] Council of Safety to Lux and Bowley, October 5, 1776. Archives of Maryland, 12: 322. Transcribed by the author for clarity.

[512] Lux and Bowley to the Council of Safety, October 11, 1776. Archives of Maryland, 12: 336. Transcribed by the author for clarity.

[513] Moser, "Ropewalks," 55.

[514] Allan Kulikoff, *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Caroline Press, 2000), 147.

[515] Jonathan Edwards, Jr., "A Brief Description of the Geology of Maryland" (Baltimore, MD: Maryland Geological Survey, 1981), 1.

Marlboro (est. 1706) and Bladensburg (est. 1745), and Frederick Town (est. 1748) in Frederick County opened western Maryland to settlers and planters. The "great boom in hemp" occurred in the "uplands" or northwestern part of the colony about 1765 and by the end of the colonial era the Chesapeake colony produced about 5,000 tons of hemp per year.[516] By the 1770s, this part of Maryland, especially Frederick Town, supplied hemp to weavers and rope makers throughout the colony.

Ropewalks appear in Maryland in the late 1740s. The first was located in Anne Arundel County in Annapolis. It is not clear when it opened or started making rope, but shipwright Asbury Sutton put his ropewalk up for sale in July of 1748.[517] "To be sold by public vendue, on Saturday the tenth day of September . . . a complete Rope-walk, cover'd 360 feet, with a good rope house . . . all within a good fence, which contains upward of four acres of ground."[518] Very little else is known about this, perhaps the first ropewalk in Maryland. In 1747, about the same time as Asbury Sutton was getting out of the rope making business, London Town native Stephen West, Jr., recruited spinners of hemp to make sailcloth and cordage.[519] Within a year's time, he had procured enough labor and materials to make rope. (Figure 7.2) West advertised his ropewalk in the *Maryland Gazette* in the spring of 1748.

> The subscriber in London Town on South River has erected a Ropewalk and makes all sorts of cables, cordage, and rigging for ships, and other vessels . . also sail-twine, logg-lines, deep-sea lines, houslin and marlin; and white rope for country use. He is provided with an excellent workman from

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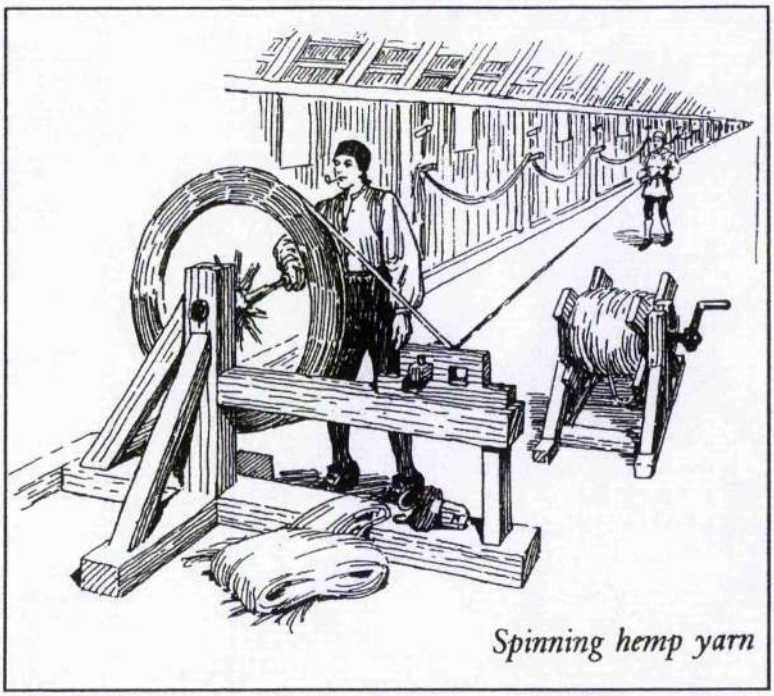
[516] Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 193.

[517] Moser, "Ropewalks," 62.

[518] *Maryland Gazette*, July 27, 1748.

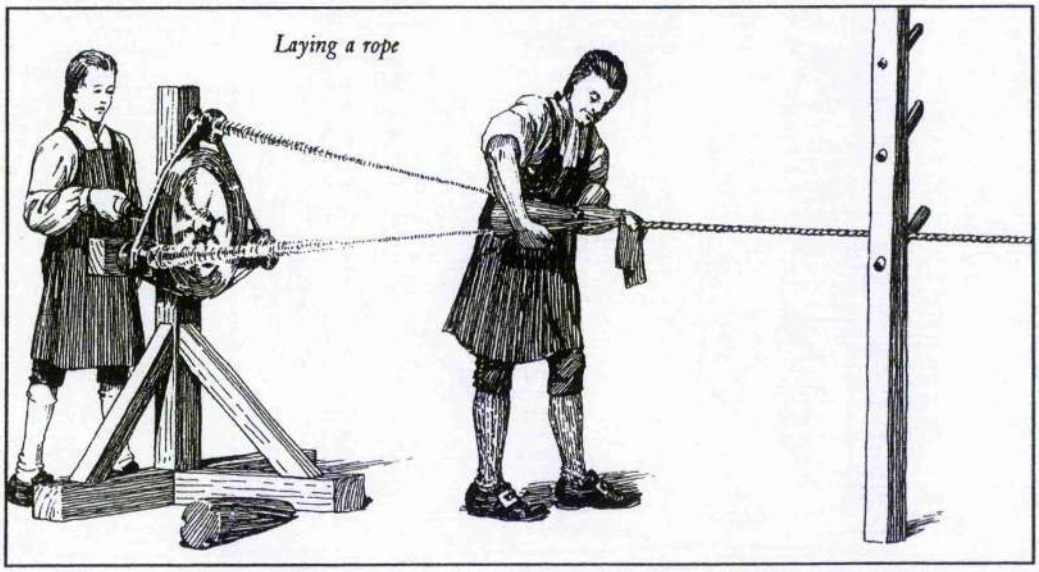
[519] *Maryland Gazette*, March 10, 1747.

Figure 7.2
Rope Making



Spinning hemp yarn

Ropewalks were long narrow buildings or simple enclosures like a long shed. They often stretched over more than one town lot and could be over 300 feet in length. Ropewalks were highly specialized structures.



Laying a rope

The process of making rope involves the spinning of hemp into yarns and then spinning multiple yarns into strands. Each strand is twisted against the other to create tension, to keep the sections from coming unraveled. The process of laying each strand against the other makes the rope strong. The longer the continuous strand, the stronger the section of rope, thus the long length of ropewalks. The "walk" had a crank-wheel at one end and a twisting hook on the other that was used to "lay" the rope. Images from: Edwin Tunic, *Colonial Living* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 125.

> London, well skill'd in all parts of the business. Any Gentleman who may have occasion to purchase, may be furnish'd at the said Ropewalk or at Mr. James Dick's Store in Annapolis, and may depend on having what is good and clean; great pains being taken to bring it to the greatest perfection. There is now ready made, all sizes of cordage and running rigging, both at London Town and Annapolis, to be sold by Stephen West, Jr.[520]

Unfortunately, the name of his London rope maker is unknown, as is the location of the ropewalk in London Town. However, West was a partner with James Dick, a merchant in London Town and Annapolis, and Dick owned many lots in London Town as well as large parts of the adjacent tract of *Scorton*. Dick's property holdings in London Town were concentrated on the southeastern part of the peninsula on Shipping Creek. This is the most likely location of the ropewalk.

James Dick was involved in another ropewalk operation in Annapolis by 1766.[521] The Newington Ropewalk partnership was formed in 1765 with Dick owning one-third, Captain William Strachan of London Town owning one-third and merchants Anthony Stewart, and Thomas Richardson (of Annapolis) owning a third jointly.[522]

Other ropewalks appear in the colony after 1748. At nearly the same time, Stephen West opened the "London Town Manufactory," Bedingfield Hands and Company started a "roperee" in Kent County at Chestertown in 1748.[523] The Chestertown factory occupied two lots in the town (70 and 71) on Princess and Cannon Streets.

Christopher Lowndes had a ropewalk in Bladensburg in western Prince

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[520] *Maryland Gazette*, May 11, 1748.

[521] Moser, "Ropewalks," 59.

[522] Maryland Historical Society, (MS 2018) Newington Ropewalk Articles of Co-partnership, 1766 Feb. 24.

[523] Moser, "Ropewalks," 60.

George's County from about 1755 through the American Revolution.[524] He had many contracts with the Council of Safety to produce large quantities of rope and cordage for Maryland's naval fleet. He was able to make about 1,000 pounds of rope per week by 1777.

> Bladensburg, January 3rd 1777
> Sir,
> I am favour'd with yours of the 2nd Inst., in which you desire to be inform'd if I can furnish eight or ten tons of Cordage and what the price and time of delivery will be. To three questions I can at present answer to one of them only, it is that I can make the Cordage and perhaps as soon as any one of the fraternity. The price I cannot set at this time, that will depend on the price of hemp, and the time of delivery is uncertain, having little or no hemp by me, and it is seldom ready for sale before the last of March. I mean the crop of 1776. I have already taken steps for securing twenty thousand weight [of hemp] but I do not expect it can be engag'd before the time above mentioned, when it comes in I can turn of one thousand or twelve hundred [pounds] per week, perhaps a greater quantity …
> I am Sir, Your most obed' Servant, Chris. Lowndes[525]

Lowndes made rope for Stephen Steward to use in the construction of vessels contracted by the Council of Safety. During the summer of 1777, Steward finished two vessels (the *Xebeck* and the *Johnson Galley)* that were rigged with Lowndes' cordage.[526] In December, Lowndes was paid £1,875.4.6 for his cordage contract plus £6 for wagon hire to transport the rope.[527]

In 1757, Andrew Thompson (a former employee of Stephen West and James Dick at the London Town Manufactory), in partnership with John Golder, opened another ropewalk in Annapolis.[528] They were in business until 1764 and the

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[524] Moser, "Ropewalks," 64.

[525] Archives of Maryland, 16: 13. Christopher Lowndes to Daniel St. Thomas Jennifer of the Council of Safety, January 1777.

[526] Archives of Maryland, 16: 298.

[527] Archives of Maryland, 16: 445.

[528] Andrew Thompson may have been Stephen West's "well skilled workman from London."

death of Golder. In 1765, Thompson went to work for the Newington ropewalk in Annapolis.[529]

By 1766, Baltimore had a ropewalk: Chatsworth owned by William Lux and Daniel Bowley.[530] In their first year, they produced 15 tons of rope. By 1768, they had a new ropeman from Scotland, James Patterson, and increased production to 25 tons per year.[531] As previously mentioned, Lux & Bowley supplied the Council of Safety with cordage as early as 1776.[532] They worked with Anne Arundel County's Stephen Steward to supply rigging and chandlery for Maryland's state vessels. Lux & Bowley helped to outfit the state naval vessels, *Schooner 92,* and *Chester Galley*, both built by Steward.[533]

Baltimore's second ropewalk opened in 1771. It was owned by William Smith, Jr., and appears to have been a small operation located in the eastern part of the city in Fell's Point. By 1777, the operation was in the hands of Thomas Worthington who eventually purchased the ropewalk in 1781.[534]

An advertisement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in November of 1780. Patrick Hamilton wanted to hire a man to manage the ropewalk and three or four good spinners.[535] This ropewalk was located in Cecil County on the Northeast River near the border with Pennsylvania.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to know how much hemp was grown per year in Maryland during the eighteenth century. Generally, hemp was not exported,

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[529] Moser, "Ropewalks," 67.

[530] Moser, "Ropewalks," 71.

[531] Moser, "Ropewalks," 72.

[532] Archives of Maryland, 12: 322.

[533] Archives of Maryland, 12: 392, and 397.

[534] Moser, "Ropewalks," 74.

[535] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 24, 1780 as found in Moser, "Ropewalks," 76.

therefore there are no trade records or figures to tabulate to establish quantities. However, by the 1770s there were as many as eight ropewalks in the colony, perhaps more. This suggests that large quantities of hemp were cultivated, although this information appears to have been unrecorded by the county and was not sent to the Board of Trade. The Board was interested in commodities that made money for the King. It seems that hemp production, no matter the scale, was not deemed important enough to note or perhaps, as with local fabric production, hemp cultivation was passively concealed from the Board. As previously outlined, the colony promoted hemp and flax production during the last quarter of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century. According to Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe (1753 to 1769) by 1766, the colony had only "three or four ropewalks each of them employing eight or ten people . . . ."[536] In reality, manufacturing was growing in Maryland, right in the governor's own neighborhood in Annapolis. Moreover, it continued to grow: by 1792, there were four ropewalks in Baltimore alone.[537]

Conclusions on Shipbuilding in Colonial Maryland

Maryland was a natural location for shipbuilding. It had plentiful natural resources, abundant waterways, and an ever-increasing demand for vessels to exports its primary produce, tobacco. The development of the shipbuilding industry in the colonies (which was encouraged by Britain) promoted the growth of many other related and necessary industries such as flax and hemp cultivation, spinning, weaving and rope making, which, all in turn, helped to support the

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[536] Archives of Maryland, 14: 359. Governor Sharpe to the Board of Trade December 9, 1766.

tobacco trade and the local economy. Shipbuilding and tobacco were major parts of the expanding colonial mercantile machine, which produced materials for sale as well as the means of transporting those good from the Chesapeake region to ports around the world. The industry grew over time as the colony's population increased.

The size of Maryland built ships also increased over time. By the middle of the eighteen century Maryland built vessels averaged 150 tons with some as large as 300 tons. All of the counties bounding the Chesapeake Bay had shipyards but some areas, such as Talbot and Dorchester Counties on the Eastern Shore, thrived on shipbuilding as tobacco did not grow well in the sandy soils.[538]

Data indicates that the shallop and sloop were very popular ship types during the late seventeenth century in Anne Arundel County: although larger vessels were, built in the area. As the eighteenth century progressed supporting industries, such as ropewalks appeared, contributing to the growth of the shipbuilding industry. Annapolis was one of the first locations for shipyards and related industries. London Town was home to one of the first ropewalks in Maryland. War, an ever-present force for both growth and stagnation, increased the demand for ships. Anne Arundel County was home to the Stephen Stewart Shipyard that supplied vessels to Maryland's State Navy during the American Revolution. By the end of the eighteenth century, Maryland was the origin of nearly a fifth of colonial built ships and Anne Arundel County residents contributed to the industry's growth.

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[537]Moser, "Ropewalks," 82.

[538] Ford, "Maryland Shipbuilding," 108-110.

Chapter 8: The American Revolution and Trade in Maryland

WAR AND ITS EFFECTS ON TRADE

As outlined in Chapter 6, the South River area and Anne Arundel County experienced brisk trade during the first four decades of the eighteenth century. However, the inter-European strife, that would plague the remainder of the century influenced trade relations and thus affected commerce in the county and London Town.

The War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748) pitted Britain and her colonies against one of the Chesapeake's largest markets for tobacco, France.[539] The French began to turn to Scotland for tobacco and Virginia had a monopoly on the Scottish tobacco trade. Price found that "French purchases in Scotland became important in 1740; two years later, Glasgow became the most important tobacco port in the country after London. The biggest breakthrough for the northern ports [of Britain in Scotland] came during the war of 1744-1748."[540] This trend continued in the 1760s and 1770s and "about three times as much tobacco was being shipped to France from Scotland as from England."[541] However, this tobacco was not coming from the tobacco ports of Maryland, it came from Virginia in the areas of the Potomac and James Rivers.[542] As war with France commenced, Maryland planters and their London merchants saw France's market slipping away. This reduction in trade was clearly felt in London Town. During the forty-year period of 1720 to 1759, 163 vessels visited the South River for tobacco. During

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[539] Price, "Economic Growth of the Chesapeake": 500-501.

[540] Price, "Economic Growth of the Chesapeake": 507.

[541] Price, "Economic Growth of the Chesapeake": 508.

[542] Price, "Economic Growth of the Chesapeake": 509.

the 20 years before the War of Austrian Succession, 1740 to 1748 (called King George's War in the colonies), trade in London Town was strong, although it had begun to slip in the late 1730s. From 1720 until 1739, an average of 5.45 vessels a year visited London Town. However, there was a clear decline after 1740 as shown in Chart 8.1. After the declaration of war, only 2.7 vessels per annum called on the South River for tobacco, cutting trade in half. This trend caused by the War of Austrian Succession saw a brief reprieve in the early 1750s. However, the advent of the Seven Years War (1754-1763) again reduced trade in London Town from which it never recovered. A series of taxes and duties and other political events leading up to and including the American Revolution exacerbated the situation, dramatically effecting trade in the colony of Maryland and in London Town.

THE BRITISH TAXATION SCHEME ON THE COLONIES AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS

The fiscal strain on the British treasury caused by the Seven Years War eventually was passed on to the American colonies. "After 1763 war debts and new colonial administrative and military costs drove successive British ministries to seek an American revenue, and to do so with strong parliamentary support."[543] Parliament chose to raise revenues through duties on items imported by the colonies. In the summer of 1764, the Board of Trade wrote to the governor of Maryland and asked him for a list of potentially taxable items.

> Sir,
> The House of Commons having, in the last Session of Parliament, come to a Resolution by which it is declared, that towards defraying the necessary

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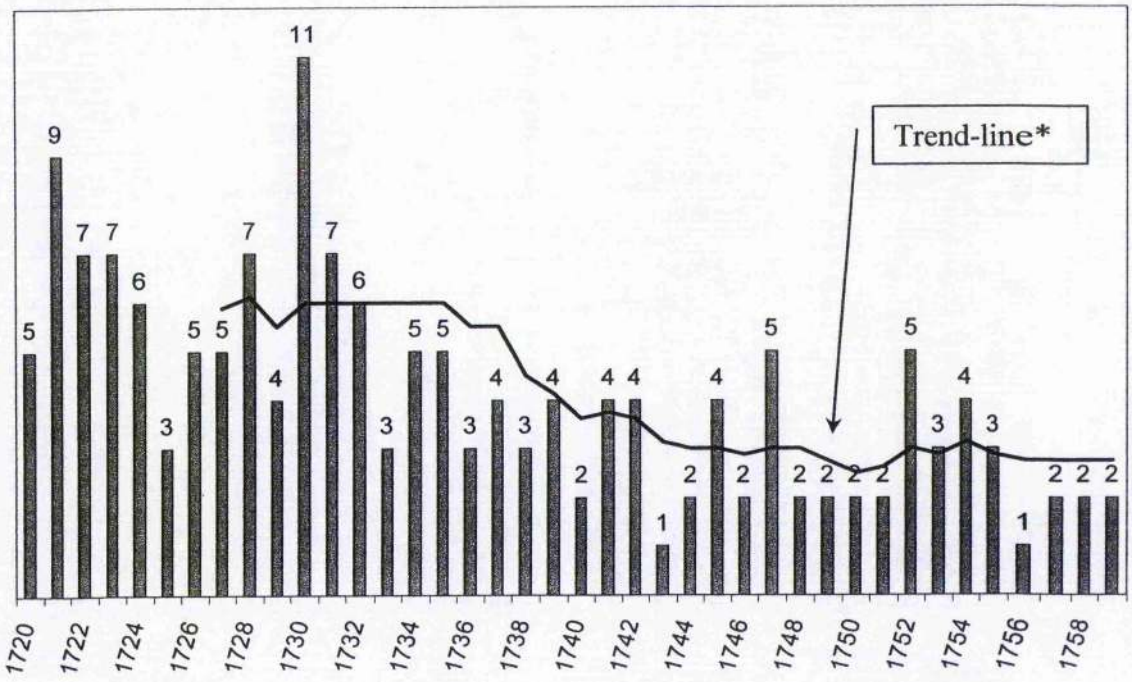
[543] P. J. Marshall, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), vol. II, *The Anointed, the Appointed, and the Elected: Governance of the British Empire, 1689-1784*, by Ian K. Steele, 123.

Chart 8.1
Number of Ships Transporting Tobacco from
the South River, 1720 to 1759



*Trend-line, moving average every 8 years. See Chapter 6 and Chart 6.3 for additional South River shipping data.

> Expenses of defending, protecting and securing the British Colonies and Plantations in America, it may be proper to charge certain Stamp Duties in the said Colonies and Plantations, It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that, you should transmit to me without delay, a List of all Instruments made use of in public Transactions, Law Proceedings, Grants, Conveyances, Securities of Land or Money, within your Government with proper and sufficient Descriptions of the same, in order that if Parliament should think proper to pursue the Intention of the aforesaid Resolution, they may thereby be enabled to carry it into Execution, in the most effectual and least burthensome manner.[544]

The eventual result was the Stamp Act: it was not a surprise nor was it warmly embraced. The Act concentrated a specific tax on the papers of day-to-day life such as those generated by transactions of property and law. This was the beginning of a long season of discontent between the colonies and Britain.

The Genesis of Nonimportation: Stamp Act and Townshend Duties

British revenue acts passed by George Grenville between 1763 and 1765 caused a great rift between the colonies and the Mother Country. Colonists felt that direct taxes were unfair based on the fact they had no legislative representation in Parliament and they protested with their purses. A populist movement, headed by merchants in the colonies (Massachusetts, Virginia and Maryland, initially) endeavored to gain "control [of] the economic life of their communities and by use of the boycott to starve Great Britain into a surrender of her trade restrictions."[545] The Stamp Act brought about unprecedented formal protest from assemblies in Virginia, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. Like-minded

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[544] Archives of Maryland, *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe 1761-1771,* Vol. III William Hand Browne, editor (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1895) 14:108-109. Written from St. James August 11, 1764 Halifax to Sharpe.

[545] Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (New York: Columbia University, 1918), 105.

colonists formed the "Stamp Act Congress" in New York in October of 1765 to guide nonimportation agreements and to codify the rules of protest.[546] In the fall of 1765, Virginia planter George Washington (future President of the United States) wrote to his London, England merchant, Robert Cray, regarding the condition of the tobacco market and colonial-mother country relations.[547] His feelings regarding the Stamp Act were echoed throughout the colonies.

> The Stamp Act, imposed on the Colonies by the Parliament of Great Britain engrosses the conversation of the speculative part of the Colonist, who looks upon this unconstitutional method of taxation as a direful attack upon their Liberties & loudly exclaim against the violation—What may be the result of this (I think I may add) ill Judged measure, and the late restrictions of our Trade and other Acts Burthen is, I will not undertake to determine; but this I think may be said—that the advantages accruing to the Mother Country will fall far short of the expectation's of the Ministry; for certain it is, that the whole produce of our labor hitherto has centered in Great Britain — what more can they desire?[548]

Boisterous protest came from New England and Massachusetts by way of dramatic remonstration from Boston's Sons of Liberty and similar groups. The taxes (Sugar Act and Stamp Act, see Chapter 6.) were repealed through pressure exerted by colonial merchants and citizens by nonimportation agreements but the stage had been set for further conflict.

Other attempts by Parliament to generate revenue from the colonies led to cries of "nonimportation." The Townshend Acts (1767) imposed a duty on tea, glass, paper, lead, paint, and dyestuffs. Such duties led to nonimportation actions in Boston in 1767.[549] Merchants and tradesmen protested via broadsides and

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[546] Butler, *Becoming America*, 230.

[547] George Washington, *Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1997), 116-117. From George Washington, Mt Vernon, Virginia September 20, 1765 to Robert Cary and Company, London, England.

[548] Washington, *Writings*, 116-117.

[549] NYPL, *American History*, 46.

letters to newspapers bringing the issue to the pubic. Virginia followed Boston in 1768 establishing an agreement that came into effect in September of 1769 that outlined the goods colonists would agree not to purchase, particularly refraining from buying any goods that were "taxed by Parliament for the purpose of raising revenue in America."[550] Maryland passed a nonimportation agreement in June of 1769. Annapolis merchants spearheaded the movement: James Dick among them.[551] By the end of 1769, all the American colonies, save New Hampshire, had established nonimportation associations and trade was the first victim.[552]

Nonimportation depended on "local cooperation and exploited intercolonial ties made in earlier trade . . . [however] efforts at nonimportation were not easily made. Some merchants balked, and some supported the British. Yet far more supported the protest . . ." against Britain's taxation.[553] One example of the zeal that nonimportation induced is documented in the case of the vessel *Good Intent*. James Dick and Stewart of Annapolis and London Town owned the majority of the cargo when a vessel arrived in Annapolis in February of 1770 full of goods enumerated in the nonimportation agreement. (See Appendix 6.) However, the goods had been ordered before the formation of the nonimportation associations per the argument submitted by the owners of the cargo.[554] A committee consisting of representatives from nonimportation associations throughout Maryland was formed to examine the case. They agreed with Dick & Stewart that the cargo had indeed been ordered before the nonimportation agreement. However, the

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[550] Smith, "Non-Importation Associations," 93.

[551] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland 1769-1770* Raphael Semmes, ed. Vol. 62 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society 1945), 457-462.

[552] NYPL, *American History*, 47.

[553] Butler, *Becoming America*, 234.

committee ruled that such time had passed (June 1769 to February 1770) as to render the order dead, in that they could have canceled it and the London shipper should not have sent the merchandise knowing of the nonimportation movement. James Dick & Stewart and the other merchants hoped that some of the cargo would be permitted as not all the goods were excluded by the agreements. Some hoped that the cargo could be held in a warehouse and sold after nonimportation was repealed. That was not the case: "The committee resolved that merchandise debarred by the association should not be landed, and that, as the allowable articles were packed in with them, no goods at all should be landed . . . the *Good Intent* with all goods onboard sailed for London on Tuesday, February 27 [1770]."[555] This is just one example of the steadfast sentiments for the nonimportation movement in Maryland. Even though Marylanders had lagged behind the colonies to the north in forming a nonimportation association, once they adopted the boycott and set up enforcement protocols, they clung to the agreements even after their northern neighbors grew tired of the movement.[556] The tobacco trade suffered as commerce was greatly reduced. This particular event also affected London Town as Dick and Stewart were the largest mercantile operation in the town.

Colonists understood that the British economy was based on manufacturing and consumption, and England produced far more than the tiny isle could absorb. Organizers of the nonimportation movement felt that if "nonimportation of British merchandise could be made effective, the British merchants and manufactures

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[554] Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 262-263.

[555] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 200-201.

[556] Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 263.

would petition Parliament to repeal the tax ...."[557] This first round of nonimportation agreements created the spark that would set the fires of the American Revolution.

Heated moral discourse developed in the wake of the nonimportation movement.[558] It was based in consumerism, specifically the overindulgence in things material and the trend of going into debt to be fashionable. Nonimportation was seen as a way to reduce such conspicuous consumption. Taxation was a motivation for American colonists to embrace frugality and therefore lesson their dependence on Britain. Many in Virginia felt that,

> This [taxation] consequently will introduce frugality; and be a necessary stimulation to Industry— Great Britain may then load her Exports with as Heavy Taxes as She pleases but where will the consumption be? I am apt to think no law or usage can compel us to barter our money or Staple Commodities for their manufacture, if we can be supplied within ourselves upon the better terms . . . .[559]

Nonimportation associations specified that subscribers to the nonimportation movement promote and encourage industry and frugality, and discourage all manner of luxury and extravagance and appealed to the populace to change their consumption habits.[560] Regardless of the moral debate behind nonimportation, the economic pressure worked and the majority of the duties were repealed, if only temporarily, and the disruptions to trade ceased.

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[557] Smith, "Non-Importation Associations," 95.

[558] T. H. Breen, "Narrative of Commercial Life: Consumption, Ideology and Community on the Eve of the American Revolution" *William and Mary Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (1993): 471-501.

[559] Washington, *Writings*, 117.

[560] Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, 191-193. Also, see the Virginia Nonimportation Resolution of 1769.

Nonimportation and Tea

In 1770, the Townshend Act was modified as, "The American colonists were united in their opposition to the Townshend Acts. Their antagonism was felt in England, where efforts were made . . . to have Parliament repeal this legislation."[561] However, Parliament held fast on the taxation of tea as a show of force that Britain did indeed have the right to tax the colonies and "to restore confidence and discipline, and protect its own fiscal and political interest."[562] This "retention of one tax, which implied that Parliament had no intention of forfeiting its right to tax the colonies . . ." found little support.[563] The tax on tea was seen as unfair and colonists abandoned the drink, especially tea imported from England. However, Boston and other ports partook of tea sold by the Dutch. "Tea from Holland may be lawfully sold . . . It is a high crime to buy any from England" advised the governor of Massachusetts.[564] Smuggling Dutch tea (sold by Dutch merchants) was one way colonists got around paying the British tax on tea.[565] However, the repeal did provide a temporary cessation on nonimportation by the colonists and the return of relative calm. Nonetheless, tensions were still high in New England and acts of civil disobedience and protest continued against the

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[561] Smith, "Non-Importation Associations," 93.

[562] Steele, *Anointed, the Appointed*, 122.

[563] Smith, "Non-Importation Associations," 94.

[564] As cited in Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 179.

[565] During the years just before and during the American Revolution Holland was a neutral state and traded with everyone. Their system was known as "free trade" or commerce without taxes. The Dutch islands of the Caribbean were essential to America during the war with Britain. The island of St. Eustatius (Dutch) supplied provisions (tea, etc.) and munitions to the Americans especially gunpowder until the British Navy captured it in 1781. See J. Franklin Jameson, "St. Eustatius in the American Revolution" *The America Historical Review*, Vol. 8, 4 (1903): 683-708. For Dutch smuggling see: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (New York: Columbia University, 1918), 98 and 247.

Quartering Act and corruption of customs officials.[566] This tension culminated in the Boston Massacre on March 5, 1770 when British soldiers killed five citizens.[567] This violent clash involved troops sent to curb intimidation of customs officials.[568] "It was the inevitable result of the festering ill-feeling, which had been caused by the altercations over smuggling and non-importation and by the unaccustomed presence of troops in the midst of a civil population."[569] This event redoubled the call for nonimportation by New England colonists and instilled fear of mob-rule in the hearts of British loyalists and customs officials throughout the colonies.

The quiet that resulted with the repeal of the Townshend Act was short-lived. Parliament elected to pass the Tea Act in 1773. This sought to funnel profits to the British East India Company and Parliament by monopolizing the tea trade to the colonies and by manipulating the cost of tea. The East India Company tea was allowed to go directly to the colonies with out facing duties in London before re-exportation contrary to the Navigation Acts.[570] This made the tea cheaper even when duties were added in the colonies. However, colonists reviled this maneuver and in many ports, citizens did not allow the tea to be landed to avoid the duties and to prevent consumption of taxed items. The tension regarding taxes and tea came to a head in December 1773 when a group of Boston citizens (dressed as Native Americans) protested by destroying one vessel's cargo of tea,

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[566] The Quartering Act required colonist to provide food and shelter for British troops. It was passed in 1765 and the numbers of troop were increased between 1767 and 1770. The New York General Assembly was suspended in 1767 for non-compliance. NYPL, *American History*, 46.

[567] Woodworth, *Essentials of United States History*, 51-53.

[568] P. J. Marshall, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteen Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), vol. II, *The American Colonies in War and Revolution, 1748-1783*, by John Shy, 313.

[569] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 181.

throwing it in the harbour: this is known as the Boston Tea Party.[571] This radical event was not universally embraced as the way to assure change. However, Bostonians fundamental principle was "no taxation without representation" and the slogan became a rallying cry for the patriot movement in America.[572]

Anne Arundel County's Tea Party: The Burning of the Peggy Stewart

Less famous than its Boston counterpart, Maryland had its own, if not more radical, tea party in 1773. (See Appendix 7.) The burning of the *Peggy Stewart* in Annapolis Harbour was sparked by the actions Anthony Stewart of James Dick & Stewart.[573] The vessel contained 17 and a half chests of tea when it arrived in Maryland's capital from London on October 14, 1774.[574] It is unclear if the event resulted from a misunderstanding or a purposeful attempt to break nonimportation. When the *Peggy Stewart* arrived in Annapolis it had 53 indentured servants on board and the brigantine was leaky from its nearly three-month passage from London.[575] Anthony Stewart and James Dick owned the vessel but the goods and the 2,320 pounds of tea were consigned to other merchants.[576] The "detestable

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[570] These trade regulations that restricted Britain's trade to British vessels and British ports were enacted in 1651 and revised in 1660, 1663 and 1673 as a way to regulated and codify the mercantile system.

[571] NYPL, *American History*, 49.

[572] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants,* 297-298.

[573] Anthony Stewart was James Dick's partner as well as his son-in-law by way of his marriage to Dick's daughter Jean. The *Peggy Stewart* was named for Margaret Stewart, Dick's granddaughter.

[574] The deposition of Richard Jackson, master of the *Peggy Stewart.* PRO, *Loyalist Papers* AO13/62.98002, pg. 339-340. Full text of the event in Appendix 7.

[575] From a handbill written by Anthony Stewart to the merchants and citizens of Annapolis October 17, 1774. From the collections of the historic Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis, Maryland. Full text of the handbill is available at www.hammondharwoodhouse.org.

[576] *Maryland Gazette*, October 20, 1774.

weed tea" was consigned to Thomas Charles Williams and Company of Annapolis.[577] Stewart elected to enter the vessel with Port of Annapolis officials without regard to the issue of the tea. He directed the ship's master Richard Jackson to "enter the vessel, but not the tea, which I [Anthony Stewart] found, on enquiry of the collector, could not be done. I had nothing in view but to save the vessel from seizure, and of having the opportunity of releasing the passengers from a long and disagreeable confinement."[578] However, entering the vessel, unloading the tea and paying the duty on the cargo of the *Peggy Stewart* caused a public outcry accusing Anthony Stewart of breaking the nonimportation agreement on tea. What ensued was similar to the mob-rule that occurred in Boston. Annapolitans were offended by what was taken as Stewart's disregard for the nonimportation movement. Many felt that:

> Mr. Stewart had acted in defiance of the resolves of the Committee in entering the tea, and had made such a daring infringement on the Liberties of America. It was proper that a meeting of the county should be called before they proceeded any further in the matter . . . and printed Hand Bills dispersed through the province giving notice thereof to the inhabitants . . . on Wednesday the 19th day of October . . . a great number of people from different parts of the province of Maryland met at Annapolis . . . and many of them threatened Mr. Anthony Stewart with death to burn down his house and himself in it and such other punishment as their rage dictated.[579]

Anthony Stewart's attempts to explain the circumstance of unloading the tea were ignored by some of the committee members. The committee suggested two acts of penance. One, offered by the less riotous members, was to remove the tea from the vessel and burn it at the gallows in Annapolis. The second more drastic suggestion was to burn the vessel with the tea on board as punishment for

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[577] *Maryland Gazette*, October 20, 1774.

[578] Anthony Stewart, *Handbill*, October 17, 1774.

Stewart because he paid the duty and to likewise punish Williams for importing the banned tea.[580] The committee pressed Stewart to sign a letter of apology admitting his mal-intent and to voluntarily burn his vessel as an act of defiance to the Crown. He refused. From then on, the citizens of Annapolis and members of the committee regarded him with repugnance. In the end, Anthony Stewart and Thomas Charles Williams "were obliged to set fire to the Brigantine with all her sails rigging and tackle of every kind and also the tea . . . all which were consumed in a few hours."[581] The *Maryland Gazette* published an account that suggested that Stewart and William set fire to the vessel voluntarily.[582] However, their personal accounts show that they were forced to burn the vessel and were coerced by the "mob" in fear of their person and personal property.[583] The harshness of the actions against Dick & Stewart may have resulted from the previous infraction involving the *Good Intent* (see above). In any case, "The burning of the Peggy Stewart brought the business of Dick and Stewart to an abrupt close and, in 1775, they advertise the dissolution of their partnership."[584] The disbanding of the company of James Dick and Stewart saw the close of the last merchant operation in London Town and the port became a casualty of the nonimportation agreements.

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[579] The deposition of Robert Caldebugh to the Treasury Office regarding the events surrounding the burning of the *Peggy Stewart.* PRO, *Loyalist Papers* AO13/62.98002, pg. 341-343.

[580] PRO, *Loyalist Papers* AO13/62.98002, pg. 335-337.

[581] PRO, *Loyalist Papers* AO13/62.98002, pg. 341-343.

[582] *Maryland Gazette*, October 20, 1774.

[583] Found in depositions contain the in the Loyalist Papers, British Library.

[584] Papenfuse, *Pursuit of Profit*, 50.

Rebellion, the Coercive Acts, and the First Continental Congress Associations

Parliament responded to events such as the Boston Tea Party and the burning of the *Peggy Stewart* with a new set of duties and regulations intended to punish and regain control of the rebellious colonies. Massachusetts, in particular, was punished with the Coercive Acts.[585] They were "intended to deal with the lawless conditions which had arisen in the province of Massachusetts Bay out of the tea commotion."[586] Called the Intolerable Act by colonists, it forced the close of the port of Boston by the Royal Navy, increased the power of the Massachusetts Royal Governor, Thomas Gage, and eviscerated the populist legislature by ending representative office, replacing legislators with individuals appointed by the Governor.[587] "The receipt of the news of the Boston Port Act put a new face on public affairs in America. It changed completely the nature of the contest with Parliament, which had been going on intermittently since 1764."[588] These acts against Massachusetts brought the colonists together against Britain.

Tensions increased when Britain extended the Quartering Act that forced citizens to billet and feed the royal troops, inflaming already angry citizens. These actions and their perceived threat to colonial liberty resulted in the formation of the First Continental Congress that met at Philadelphia in September 1774. Each colony had its reasons and ideas for an intercolonial meeting to establish a "congress, chosen by the several legislators, for the sake of the common

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[585] P. J. Marshall, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), vol. II, *Britain and the Revolutionary Crisis, 1763-1791*, by Stephen Conway, 355.

[586] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 305.

[587] Nash, *Urban Crucible*, 229.

[588] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 306.

concerns."[589] Although each colony had its own interests to protect, most were "unanimous in naming parliamentary taxation of the colonies as a grievance and almost without exception they included the punitive acts of 1774, and particularly the Boston Port Act."[590] They debated whether or not they should embrace nonimportation, nonexportation, nonconsumption, or all three. Each would affect Great Britain in different ways. Nonimportation would affect British manufacturing. Nonexportation would curtail the supplies need for that manufacturing. Nonconsumption of British goods would help enforce nonimportation. The main goal was to effect change by crippling Britain's mercantile system. Eventually the Congress settled on all three. They established a "Continental Association to endorse the local communities that already enforced embargoes and harassed the uncommitted" to join and expand the nonimportation movement against Britain.[591] The Association had three main goals and demanded:

> A return to the condition prevailing before 1763 . . . with an enumeration of the act that must be repealed. These were named as three groups: (1) the duties in tea, wine, molasses, syrups, panels, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and painters' colors, and the powers extending of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits; (2) that part of the act for better securing the royal dockyards, ships etc. by which and persons in America, charged with an offense therein described, might be transported to England for trial; and (3) the three acts of 1774 against Boston and Massachusetts and the Quebec Act.[592]

The Association established a timeline for dealing with British obstinacy. Nonimportation (including slaves) became affective December 1, 1774. Noncomsumption of tea was set for March 1, 1775: this also affected smuggled

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[589] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 394.

[590] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 397.

[591] Steele, *Anointed, the Appointed*, 124.

tea, and nonexportation of produce (including tobacco) was to begin September 10, 1775 if Parliament had not addressed the Association's grievances by that time.[593]

As outlined in Chapter 6, Maryland traded with many other colonies, especially those of New England, and their intercolonial relationship made for easy allies against the Crown. Although each colony had distinct religious affiliations and trade relationships with Britain, they were tied together by their dependence on Britain and displeasure regarding taxes. This led to greater interdependence on each other through trade and manufacturing and made for a unified front against Britain. Anne Arundel County was at the center of the nonimportation movement in Maryland. London Town was directly affected as its most prominent merchant James Dick was one of the sponsors of the movement in the colony.

NONIMPORTATION IN MARYLAND

London Town and Annapolis merchant James Dick was part of the nonimportation movement in Maryland. In, fact he was among a small group of merchants that initiated the agreements accepted by the Maryland Assembly. The first step to enacting nonimportation in Maryland came in 1769 via an appeal to the people of the colony. It was printed in the *Maryland Gazette*, May 11, 1769.

> To the Merchants, Traders, and Gentlemen of the Province of Maryland.
> Gentlemen,
> Having been desired by the Gentlemen of the different Counties, to appoint a Day of general Meeting of the Merchants, Traders, and Gentlemen of the Province, to consult on the most effectual Means to promote Frugality, and lessen the future Importation of Goods from Great-Britain; We therefore have appointed a Meeting, at this City, to be held on Monday the 22d Instant, when we hope there will be a Committee sent from every County in the Province, that the Affair may be conducted with that Steadiness and Unanimity, which the present Exigency requires.

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[592] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 425.

[593] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 425-427.

> We are, Gentlemen, Your most humble Servants,
> James Dick & Stewart, Nicholas Maccubbin, Charles Wallace, William Stewart.[594]

Maryland began to establish nonimportation associations in the spring of 1769. "The association adopted closely resembled the Virginia agreement in its preamble and justifications, its pledges against lamb consumption, and it resolutions against the importation of dutied articles and of foreign luxuries, save that in the latter case, the Maryland list was more than twice as long."[595]

The meeting was held in Annapolis on May 22, 1769 and resulted in a ". . . Plan of an Association [and a] . . . general Resolution of Non-Importation." The merchants were concerned with "shewing the People of Anne-Arundel County are solicitous of joining in Resolutions to preserve the Constitutional Rights."[596] The main goal of the Association was to avoid the sale and

> Use of foreign Luxuries and Superfluities, in the Consumption of which, we have heretofore too much indulged ourselves, to the great Detriment of our private Fortunes, and, in some Instances, to the Ruin of Families; and, to this End, to practice ourselves, and, as much as possible, to promote, countenance, and encourage in others, a Habit of Temperance, Frugality, Oeconomy, and Industry.[597]

The Association outlined dozens of items it would not import from Britain. (See Appendix 6) However, they would import and resell items of every day use, not luxuries. Among the items they set aside were: saltpeter, black pepper, sail-cloth, men's and women's shoes, milk-pans, stone bottles, jugs, pitchers, and chamber-pots, scythe stones, mill stones, and grind stones, nails, hoes, steel, handicraft and manufacturers tools, knives and forks, knives, scissors, sheep-

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[594] Archives of Maryland, 62: 457-458.

[595] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 139.

[596] Archives of Maryland, 62: 458-459.

shears, needles, pins and thimbles, razors, surgical instruments, and spectacles.[598] The agreement also sought to encourage manufacturing, particularly that of woolen fabric, a staple the British had monopolized and protected for decades. The association proposed to encourage wool production by preserving and increasing the number of sheep in the colony; "we will not kill, or suffer to be killed, or sell, or dispose, to any Person, whom we have Reason to believe intends to kill, any Ewe-Lamb."[599] By 1774, this idea became law in Maryland preserving sheep under four years old.[600] Cloth exports from Britain was one the of largest sectors of the commercial system. "Between 1750 and 1770 . . . the per capita expenditures on British manufactures equaled, perhaps even exceeded, the phenomenal rate of growth of the America population. Cloth of various types was the major item for sale . . .."[601] Disruption to Britain's fabric manufacturing or any sector of manufacturing would have a substantial effect on trade and was undoubtedly one the causes of the repeal of the Townshend Acts. Nonimportation helped spawn local manufacturing in cities such as Boston. The boycott of imported goods "provided the biggest boon to home manufacturing in the town's history."[602] As noted in Chapter 7 manufacturing (fabric, rope) also grew in Maryland during the period of nonimportation and the years leading up to the American Revolution.

Like other colonist, noted earlier, Virginians felt "that if nonimportation could be made effective, the British merchants and manufacturers would petition

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[597] Archives of Maryland, 62: 459. Original spelling retained.

[598] Archives of Maryland, 62: 459-462.

[599] Archives of Maryland, 62: 460-462.

[600] Archives of Maryland, 78: 7-9.

[601]. Breen, "Narrative of Commercial Life," 484.

[602] Nash, *Urban Crucible*, 226.

Parliaments to repeal the tax on tea" an idea which Marylanders embraced as well.[603] If the colonies refrained from importing British wares, "British merchants might suffer large losses; British workers might find themselves out of work," thus placing pressure on Parliament to address the concerns of the American colonies.[604]

The Maryland Association's agreement also took steps to protect consumers from price gouging, promising not to "avail ourselves of the Scarcity of European Goods, proceeding from the Resolutions for Non-importation, to raise, or enhance the Prices of the different Articles, or Commodities . . . but that we will sell and dispose of the same, at the usual and accustomed Rates we have done for these Three Years past."[605] The merchants of Maryland established what they could sell, what they would not import and outlined acceptable conduct for other merchants that may not have participated in drafting the agreements. They took steps to assure their livelihood in an uncertain time as well as to appease the populace which did not support taxation on goods.

Enforcement of the nonimportation agreement was difficult, more so in the plantation provinces of the Chesapeake due to the dispersed population. However, it seems that most Marylanders were of one mind.

> The execution of the non-importation and non-consumption regulations in Maryland was somewhat complicated by the fact that there were more than twenty river in the province navigable by large ships. However, commerce centered naturally at Baltimore and Annapolis; and the zeal and watchfulness of the radical probable reduced evasions of the Association to a minimum in all parts of the province.[606]

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[603] Smith, "An Era of Non-Importation Associations," 95.

[604] Breen, "Narrative of Commercial Life," 487.

[605] Archives of Maryland, 78: 7-9.

[606] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 504.

Compliance in Maryland appears to stem from the fact that considerably more pains were taken to enforce the associations in Maryland. The execution of the Maryland pact was jealously scrutinized by the merchants of Philadelphia, and for a time the good faith of the Baltimore merchants were suspect."[607] One example of enforcement is evident in the aforementioned *Good Intent* incident. Both persons of conscience and peer-pressure helped ensure citizens followed the regulations. Nonetheless, it seems that "Maryland and South Carolina... [had] the distinction of having made the most honorable record" regarding nonimportation.[608]

Maryland's Governor Eden said in December 1774 that Marylanders would "persevere in their nonimportation and nonexportation experiments, in spite of every inconvenience that they must consequently be exposed to, and the total ruin of their trade."[609] This seems to have been the case. "English imports fell off from . . . £528,738 [in 1774] to £1,921 [in 1775] in Maryland and Virginia . . . The total decline in the import trade in 1775 as compared with the preceding year was almost ninety-seven percent."[610] The steep decline in Britain's trade forced their hand and in December of 1775, they "enacted as a war measure the law that provided for entirely closing up the thirteen colonies to trade with any part of the world after March 1, 1776."[611] The American colonies proclaimed their independence by July of 1776. By then, the tobacco trade between Britain and her colony in Maryland was dead. London Town and the small-scale industries and farming it supported (by exporting food) had no one to trade with.

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[607] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 199.

[608] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 198.

[609] As quoted in Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 509.

[610] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 536.

[611] Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 540.

The Demise of the Tobacco Trade in Anne Arundel County

Even before the colonies declared their independence from Britain in 1776, "A number of factors combined to produce a depression [in the tobacco market] in 1772 and 1773."[612] London merchants had extended too much credit and when "The price of tobacco in the European market did not hold . . . London merchants were not able to pay the bills to their agents in Maryland had given them for tobacco."[613] This caused waves of panic throughout the world of tobacco merchants. The years immediately preceding the break with Britain saw a softening of trade in Maryland. Tobacco, although the main element in the Chesapeake economy, was largely a luxury item to the world. It was not used in warfare and its market required willing and able consumers. War helped make tobacco unnecessary in the world economy. Nonimportation agreements caused the cessation of trade from time to time throughout the late 1760s and 1770s. The events of the *Good Intent* and the *Peggy Stewart*, both involving London Town's James Dick and his partner Anthony Stewart, directly affected trade in London Town by hastening the demise of the port's last merchant operation.

After the Declaration of Independence and onset of war between Britain and the American colonies, all trade with Britain ceased. The tobacco trade at London Town was almost completely dependent on merchants in London. However, the colonies endeavored to trade with the Dutch, French, and the Caribbean but a British Navel blockage of the Chesapeake Bay during 1777 and 1778 forced goods to be brought overland from Philadelphia or from the far

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[612] Edward C. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 61.

[613] Papenfuse, *Pursuit of Profit*, 61.

Eastern Shore of Maryland that was situated directly on the Atlantic Ocean. "During these years, maintaining a retail outlet in Annapolis was difficult at best."[614] There is little doubt that the blockade had the same effect on London Town.

During this period, Baltimore began to grow and become the center of trade in the colony. The American Revolution helped expedite that growth.

> Before the war, Annapolis's strength as a market had been the concentrated demand for high-quality goods sold to an affluent clientele. But the need to sell large amounts of low-quality goods rapidly in order to free capital for reinvestment as soon as possible, meant that during the war Baltimore and Philadelphia were more logical places to import goods.[615]

Although Baltimore was known for exporting wheat during the third quarter of the eighteen century, after the war, Baltimore began to export increasing amounts of tobacco from newly expanding towns, and new plantations north of Anne Arundel County.[616] Moreover, the world market and the source of tobacco was shifting while Maryland's planters were unable to participate in the tobacco trade due to the war and "By December 1782, European farmers were growing tobacco to meet the great demand . . . Once the war was over, direct tobacco trade with France for the quality re-export markets in Holland and Germany was no longer viable" due to the price on insurance and transportation.[617] "The conditions that made Annapolis the best market in Maryland for quality luxury goods and contributed to the rise of an entrepreneurial merchant class before 1776 were dissipated by war, the emergence of Baltimore ... [and] a severe depression of several years duration in

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[614] Papenfuse, *Pursuit of Profit*, 93.

[615] Papenfuse, *Pursuit of Profit*, 111.

[616] Papenfuse, *Pursuit of Profit*, 117. Howard County was an area of growth, which was formed from the northwest section of Anne Arundel County. See Chapter 2 and Figures 2.3 and 2.4.

[617] Papenfuse, *Pursuit of Profit*, 127.

the tobacco trade."[618] By the time the war was over and the Maryland colony had become a state, the economic shift was complete and Anne Arundel County was left behind. The tobacco landing at London Town no longer served a purpose and the town's last merchant was dead.[619]

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[618] Papenfuse, *Pursuit of Profit*, 131.

[619] James Dick died in 1782. MSA, AA Co. Probate Wills Liber TG1, folio 71.

Chapter 9: Archaeology and London Town

OVERVIEW

The impetus for this study has been the ongoing archaeological excavation at London Town. This section outlines the material culture recovered from London Town and what it tells us about the town and others like it.

London Town is called a "lost town," but its actual location was never truly forgotten. Rather, its short life as a vibrant colonial tobacco port is the element that was lost to history. Since 1684, people have been living at London Town. They tilled the land, built homes, and buried loved ones, but the land use has not been constant. There has not been a "town" at London Town for more than 170 years.

Findings from ongoing archaeological excavations at London Town provide some of the best tools available for understanding what life was like in an eighteenth century Maryland tobacco town. Archaeologically documented structural remains have shown that the buildings at London Town were earthfast and without brick foundations. (Figure 9.1)

> Throughout the tidewater, dwellings followed a similar formula: a wooden frame attached to heavy post that was set into holes in the ground, and riven clapboards several feet long were nailed to the outside, providing an exterior surface and structural support. Roofs were made of wooden shingles [and] . . . chimneys, [were] usually made of waddle and daub, attached to the gable end of the dwelling.[620]

Areas adjacent to structural footprints at London Town show the existence of fence lines, perhaps enclosed kitchen gardens, and animal pens. Furthermore, land and probate records document the existence of homes, ordinaries, warehouses

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[620] Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 302-303.

Figure 9.1
Example of Earthfast Structure

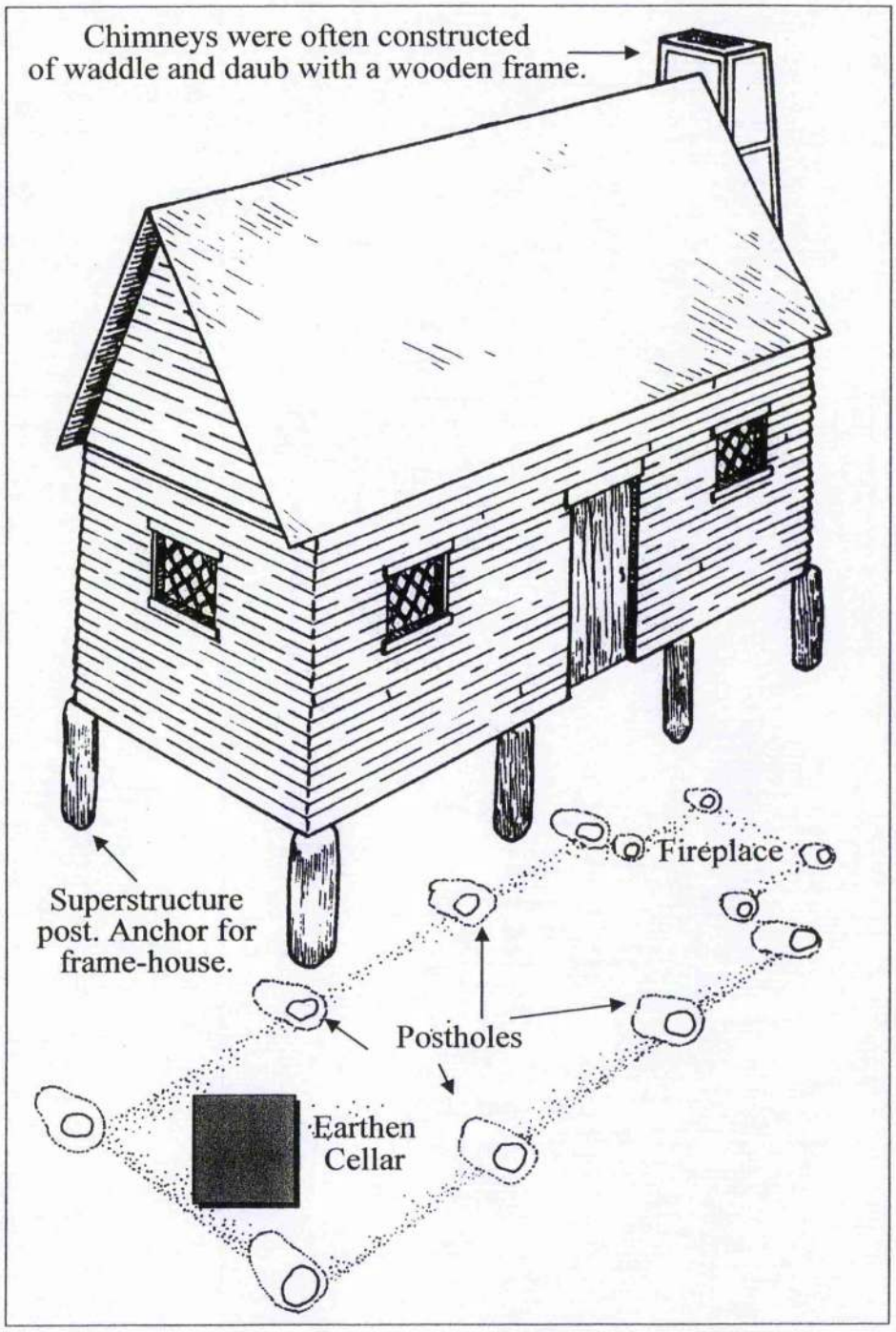

Image from James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 21. Archaeological evidence from Chesapeake sites suggest that the roofs of some earthfast buildings were covered with terra-cotta tiles. Structures of this type usually had earthen cellars and windows with or without glazing.

and light manufacturing such as carpentry and a ropewalk (neither was established until the late 1740s). Excavation of the town is far from complete, but those sections that have been studied, such as a tavern (from ca. 1700 until 1780) provides a glimpse into the way of life experienced in London Town by its residents and visitors.

Four Periods of Occupation

This research has shown that were four distinct occupation periods at the London Town property. The initial phase dates from the first patent in the 1660s. During this period, the area eventually incorporated as London Town was part of a 1200-acre tract called Scorton and Burge, owned by Colonel William Burges of the Maryland Assembly. His role in local politics helped place London Town on his property. The second period, referred to as the "town period," lasted from 1684 (when the town was established officially and laid out) until about 1826. This period witnessed residential, commercial, and light industrial occupation though not all lots were developed. The third period (from 1826 until 1965), called the "Almshouse" period was the longest and remains the least studied.[621] During this period, the town was both disassembled and preserved. The settlement's earthfast buildings were torn down or left to decay but the immediate area was redeveloped due to of the presence of the Anne Arundel County Almshouse. For over 140 years, William Brown's house (built in 1764) served as Anne Arundel County's Poor House (or Almshouse). It is the only standing colonial period structure located on the County's park property. The County owned ten acres immediately

surrounding the house, consisting of the northern section of the original 100-acre town site.

The fourth and current period of occupation came after passage of the Medicare Act in 1964 and Medicaid in 1965 when the United States abolished its system of housing the poor. The County Poor House (therefore the William Brown House) and what remained of London Town became a County Park under the supervision of Anne Arundel County's Department of Recreation and Parks.[622] The County's stewardship of the property preserved the archaeological resources of nearly one-quarter of the original town site and protected it from high-density development. However, areas outside the park property (or nearly three-quarters of the original town) were developed into quarter-acre residential lots in the 1940s.

The ten undeveloped acres adjacent to the Almshouse were cultivated as a pleasure garden for citizens to visit for recreation. In 1986, the County purchased an adjacent tract containing a small 13-acre farm with late nineteenth-century dwellings. Today, the 23-acre property includes the London Town Park and Gardens in the locality officially known as Edgewater, Maryland.

Previous Research and Documentation

During the first years after establishment of London Town Park, various improvements in drainage, laying of underground cables, renovations and

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[621] A forthcoming Master's Thesis by Ms. Lisa Plumley from the University of Maryland, College Park will describe the Almshouse Period of London Town.

gardening projects produced artifacts from the colonial town, but no systematic testing was undertaken until the 1970s and 1980s. An aerial photographic study of the London Town peninsula was made in 1971.[623] This survey encompassed both the tracts inside park boundaries and areas historically known to be part of the original 100-acre town tract. Analysis of the photographs led to identification of 53 subsurface anomalies characteristic of human activity. Ten of theses 53 anomalies, or tentative archaeological cites, were considered potentially significant, as the dimensions could be easily measured.[624] Eleven of the sites were located inside the 1971 park boundaries. Nine of them fall within a two-acre zone comprising historic town lots 74 and 87, the location of ongoing archaeological excavation since 1995.[625] (Figure 9.2)

In 1978 and 1986 two different contract archaeology firms conducted archaeological surveys at London Town Park.[626] The 1986 survey by Barse consisted of historical research and systematic shovel testing with test units (two feet by two feet) at 25-foot intervals throughout the 10.25-acre section around the

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[622] These two governmental programs are part of the Social Security Administration reforms established under the incumbency of President Lyndon Johnson to provide financial relief and medical care for the county's poor and elderly (over 65). NYPL, *American History Desk Reference*. (New York: Macmillan, 1997), 199, 350-351. The terms "County Poor House," "Public House," and "Almshouse" were used interchangeably during the 20th century until deed and court records research showed that the Georgian brick house was built either for or by William Brown of London Town. It has been called the William Brown House since 1996.

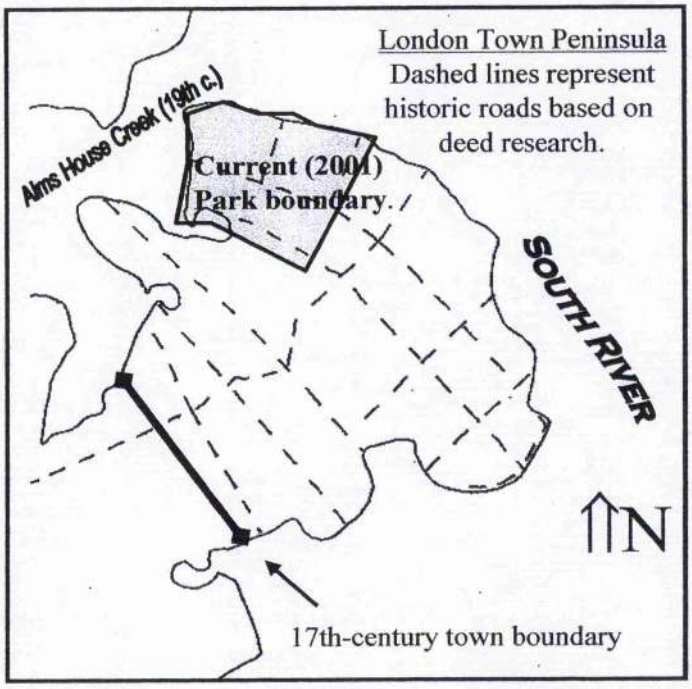
[623] Contract Archaeology, Inc., *Photoarchaeological Study: Publick House London Town, Maryland* (Alexandria, Virginia: Contract Archaeology, Inc., 1971). A project and report commissioned by the London Town Publick House Commission.

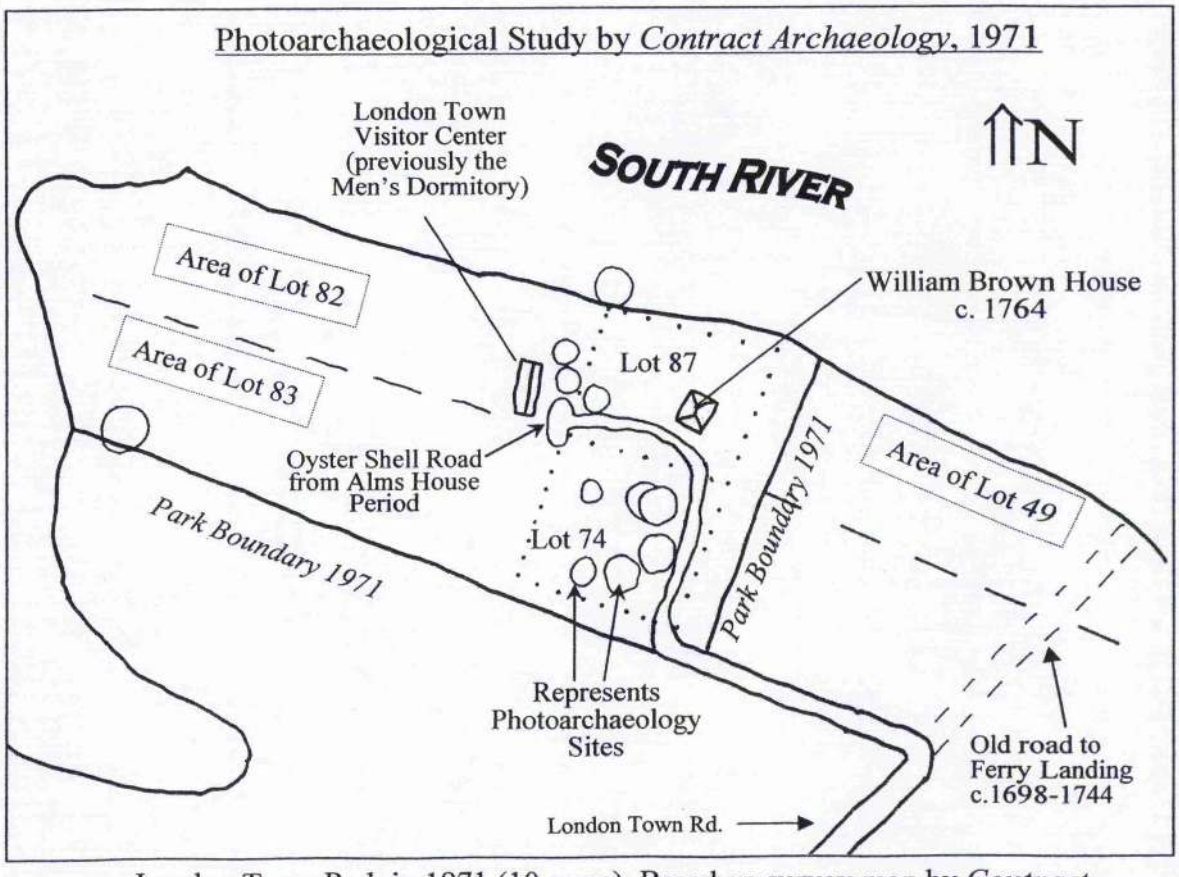
[624] Contract Archaeology, Inc., *Photoarchaeological Study*, 36.

[625] Lot assignments during the colonial period come from Anne Arundel County Land Records.

[626] ASI, A *Report on an Archaeological Survey of Londontown Publick House and Gardens Located in Edgewater, Anne Arundel County, Maryland.* Report prepared by Archaeological Services Inc. for the London Town Public House Commission, 1978. And, Mary Folsom Barse, *A Preliminary Archeological Reconnaissance Survey of Londontown Publick House and Gardens and Twelve Acre Expansion, Anne Arundel County, Maryland.* Report prepared for the Maryland Historic Trust and the Londontown Publick House Commission, 1986.

Figure 9.2
London Town Park





London Town Park in 1971 (10 acres). Based on survey map by *Contract Archaeology*, Inc. Map reconstructed by the author.

Almshouse.[627]

The remainder of the park was tested at 50-foot intervals. The Basre report (1986) did not establish the perimeters of the settlement but did show some areas with concentrations of material culture that were indicative of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century domestic sites. These findings led to full-scale block excavations that have continued since 1995. In 1988, Anne Arundel County's Department of Planning and Code Enforcement hired a professional archaeologist to oversee development plans submitted by land developers as part of the zoning process.[628] This County archaeology program started out very small, with a staff of only one professional (Dr. Alvin Luckenbach), assisted by advocational volunteers.

Since 1995, Anne Arundel County has supported the *Lost Towns Project.*[629] This public history and archaeology program has been charged with locating, protecting, and documenting the archaeological resources of Anne Arundel County. One of the Project's long-term endeavors is excavation and partial reconstruction of London Town to present its colonial period occupation to the public.

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[627] For practical purposes, I have chosen to concentrate on the section of the site labeled 18AN48. This is the 10-acre section of the park and the area of study for ongoing block excavations since 1995. See the report by Mary Folsom Barse, *A Preliminary Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey of Londontown Publick House and Gardens and Twelve-Acre Expansion, Anne Arundel County, Maryland.* Report prepared for the Maryland Historic Trust and the Londontown Publick House Commission, 1986.

[628] Dr. Alvin H. Luckenbach has been the County's archaeologist since 1988.

[629] The author completed a summer archaeological training internship in 1996, became an employee of Anne Arundel County's Lost Towns Project in August of 1997 and has been involved in all excavation at the park since that time. The author has been employed as a contractual historical archaeologist by Anne Arundel County's Lost Towns Project since 1997. Therefore, the author either has worked personally on the excavations here mentioned or has been part of the historical research team for London Town. Since 1999, the author's main responsibility has been the documentation of the history of colonial London Town.

ARCHAEOLOGY AT LONDON TOWN PARK: 1995-2001

Excavations at London Town are ongoing, thus research and interpretation of data are not complete. The following section provides a tentative summary of findings and concentrates on the *Lost Town Project's* excavations at Rumney's Tavern Cellar, in London Town.

The *Lost Towns Project* has focused its archaeological activities within those two zones of the park yielding the densest concentration of cultural material, namely the William Brown House and the park's original 10-acre parcel. Land records and plat map reconstructions suggest that much of London Town remained undeveloped throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see chapter 4). Portions of these "unimproved" areas are archaeologically discernible, within the park's boundaries. To date, the most complete area of excavation lies south of the William Brown House (located on lot 87) at a tavern occupied from about 1700 until the 1780s. Edward Rumney owned the property from 1700 until 1719, when his wife (Eleanor) inherited it. She sold the property in 1724 to Stephen West and he occupied the tavern site until his death in 1752. William Brown was the tavern keeper and owner from 1753 until about 1780.[630]

Systematic removal of the plow zone (A-horizon of loamy topsoil comprised of the first six to eight inches of soil) uncovered a number of structural postholes intruding into the underlying subsoil. These postholes are the surviving remnants of earthfast buildings, such as Rumney's Tavern and its associated

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[630] The chain of title for this property had been established through deed research from records located at the Maryland State Archives. See Cox, C. Jane et al. *Discovering Lost Towns: Survey and Identification of Colonial and Early Republic Sites in London, Anne Arundel County, Maryland* (Unpublished compliance report on file at The Maryland Historical Trust), Crownsville, Maryland: Anne Arundel County Department of Planning and Code Enforcement, 1997.

cellar.[631] Additional postholes adjacent to the tavern footprint point to additional structures or associated outbuildings. These excavations continue and aim to determine the function of those other buildings. Another cellar-like feature (Feature 370) discovered south and east of Rumney Tavern Cellar, has yet to be excavated.[632] (Figure 9.3)

Two additional sections of the site adjacent to the William Brown House are the Lord Mayor's Lot and the Carpenter's Shop. These areas have provided many postholes representing structural footprints. The Lord Mayor's feature excavation area is approximately 150 feet long (running north and south) by 100 feet wide. The Carpenter's Shop abuts the Rumney's Tavern section and is approximately 200 feet long (running north and south) by 75 feet wide. Excavation of this section is ongoing as east-west sections of plow zone still are being removed to establish site perimeters.[633]

Rumney's Tavern Cellar

The cellar feature (Feature 100) located on lot 87 and its associated postholes are contained in an approximately 1,925 square foot area. The cellar itself measures approximately 12-feet square, lined with wooden boards as noted by nail pattern in the cellar walls. Surrounding structural postholes indicate a

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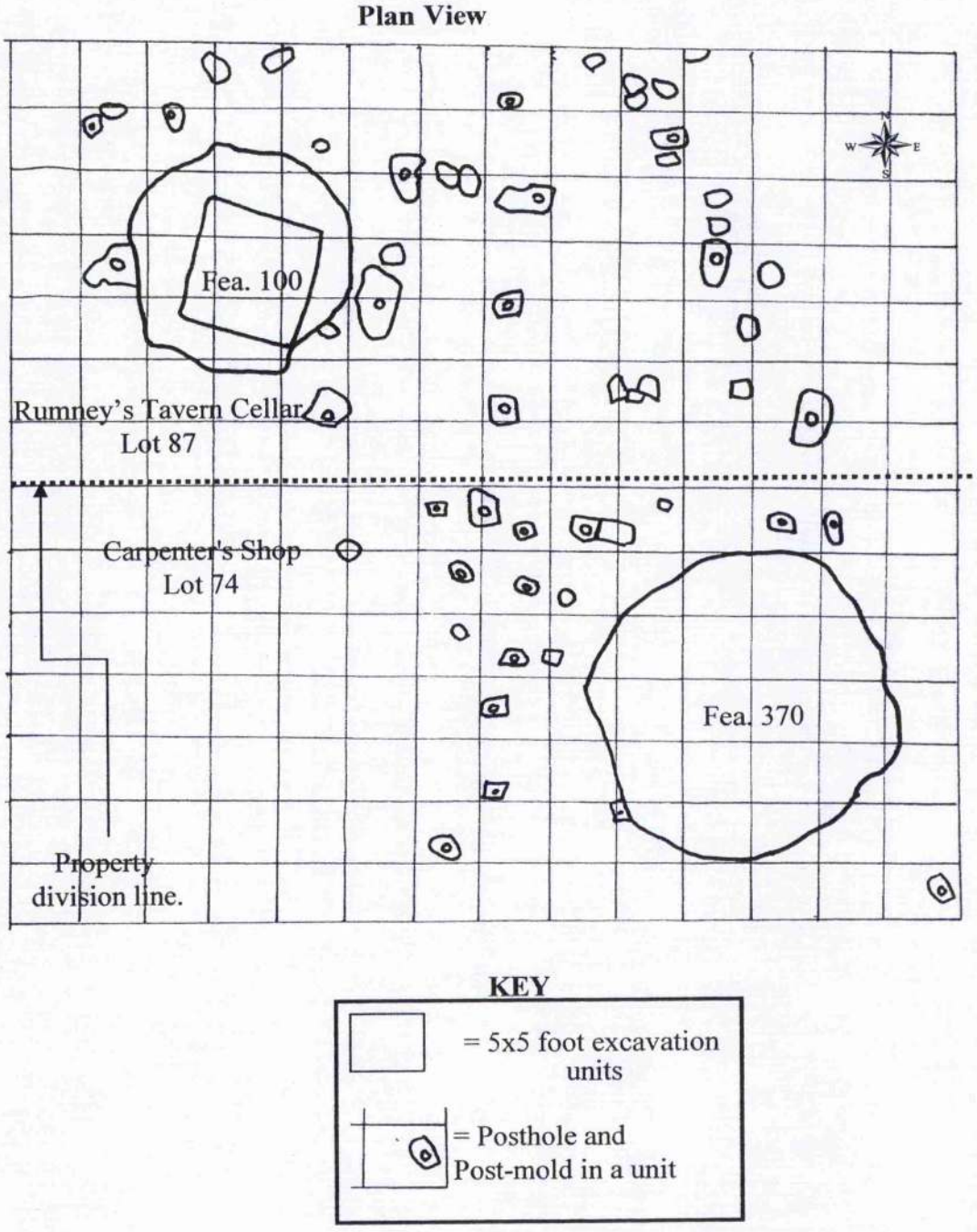
[631] After about 1830, the area directly to the south of the William Brown House was a cultivated field. This first stratum (Ap horizon) or plow zone was removed and the soil is screened for artifacts, which then are used in distribution maps. These maps show artifact concentrations on the site and are used to plan excavation.

[632] Excavation of this very large feature (Feature 370) is planned for late 2003 once the associated postholes are excavations are completed.

[633] The term "plow zone" (or plough zone) represents a distinct area of soil very common to Chesapeake sites. This area of the park was reclaimed farmland which had been used until the 20th century.

Figure 9.3
Area of Ongoing Block Excavation at London Town



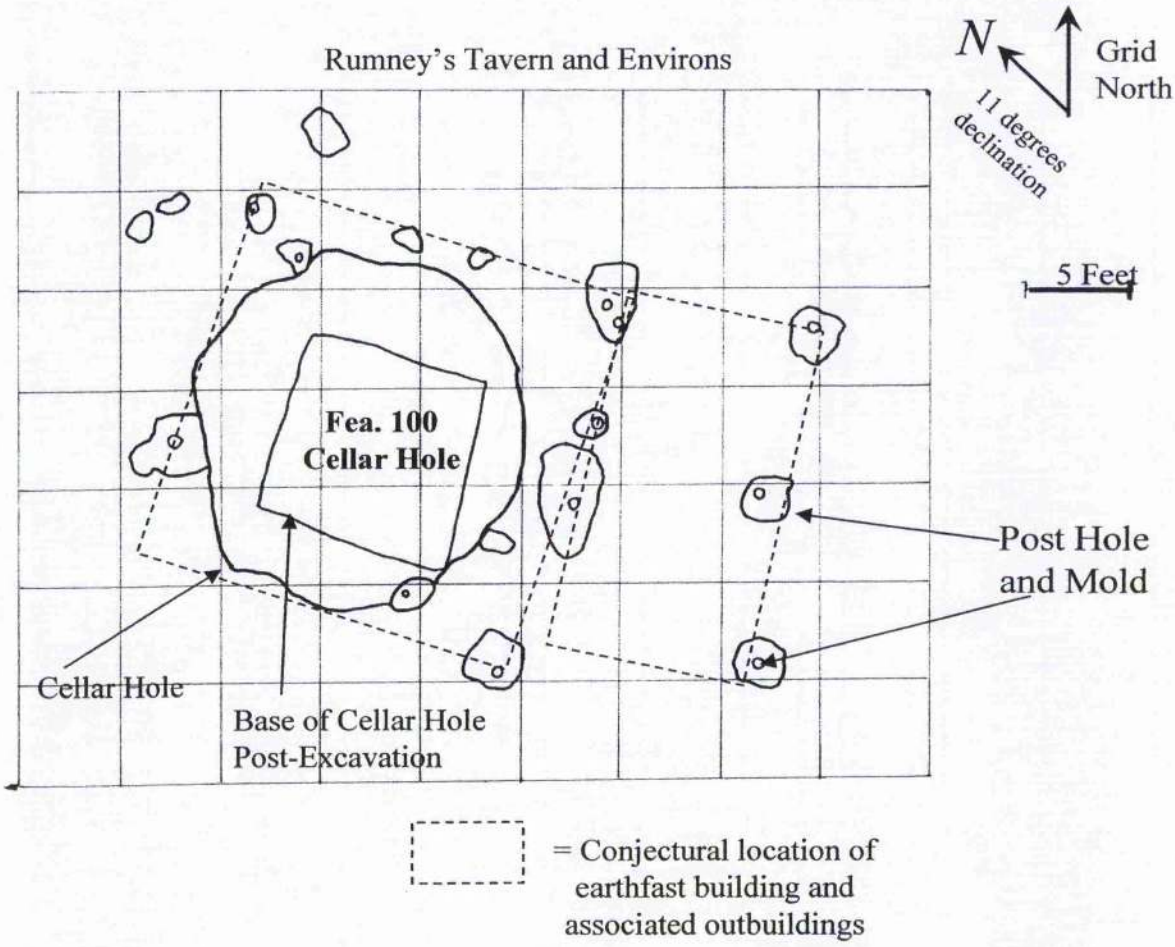
building measuring 24 feet long (east-west) and 20-feet wide (north-south). Both the adjacent postholes and a very high concentration of butchered animal bones (mammal, piscine and avian) suggest that an outdoor or summer kitchen abutted the eastern end of the structure at one time. (Figure 9.4)

Rumney's Tavern Cellar proved to be a very complex feature. The stratigraphic profile of the cellar denoted many separate deposits of tavern refuse throughout time, ranging from large quanties of ash, mixed with broken pottery to deposits of animal bone, broken wine bottles, and tobacco pipes. Layers of siltation surrounded each of these various refuse deposits, indicated some lapse in time between them. This earthfast building did not have a sill or traditional foundation, so silt and soil washed into the cellar adding to the fill. Feature 100 was bisected twice, resulting in four quadrants. Each quadrant was taken down stratigraphically. There were 21 main stratigraphic layers (with many smaller isolated deposits) contained in five main beds. All soils recovered from the features were water-screened through 1/8th-inch window screen. This process recovered many small finds such as fish scales and bones, decorative beads, dressmaker pins, botanical seeds, and charcoal. Excavation of this feature took more than four years.

DATING THE TAVERN CELLAR

Dating of the Rumney's Tavern Cellar was a main objective of the excavation. London Town land records delineate chain of title, but the presence of numerous postholes in this section of the site suggests that a series of structures existed on the same lot (74) throughout time. To establish a *terminus-post-quem* of the cellar feature specifically, a detailed study of the cellar artifacts was necessary.

Figure 9.4
Detail of Feature Excavation: Feature 100



Plan View map based on the excavation field notes of Rumney's Tavern Cellar, 18AN48, Feature 100.Anne Arundel County's *Lost Towns Project*, 1996-2000.

This section discusses the analysis of diagnostic artifacts from the Rumney's Tavern Cellar, concentrating on pottery vessels and tobacco pipes.

Ceramics: Period Dating from Motifs

Rumney's Tavern Cellar proved to be a time capsule of early eighteenth-century ceramics. Three main ceramic types dominate the cellar fill assemblage: [1)] redware/buff-bodied earthenwares, [2)] stonewares, and [3)] delftwares. These ware types occurred in various vessel forms. (Figure 9.5) Redwares from the cellar included lead-glazed, manganese-mottled, yellow-glazed, and North Devon gravel-tempered vessels. Stonewares included English-brown (or Fulham) mugs, a Westerwald chamber pot, and English white-salt-glazed mugs, cups, bowls, teacups, and a coffeepot. Delftware forms include both plain and decorated chamber pots, bowls, plates, and teacups.[634] Of all of these ceramics, delftware comprises 70% of the cellar's ceramic sherds (1,672 of 2,382) and 56% of the cellar vessels, (59 of 106)."[635]

After laboratory cleaning and conservation, vessel fragments were mended. In many cases, all or most of the vessel fragments were recovered. This provided the opportunity to study time-sensitive design motifs, which helped to clarify the time period of the cellar fill. Work by Luckenbach and Kille has shown that many of the cellar's delftware motifs resemble those previously discovered during

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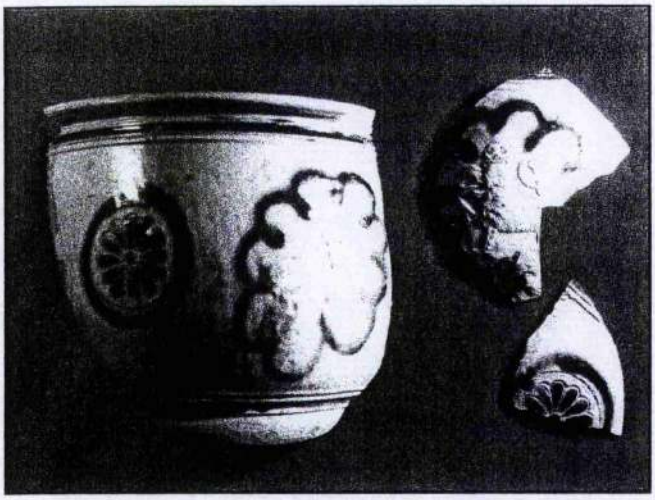
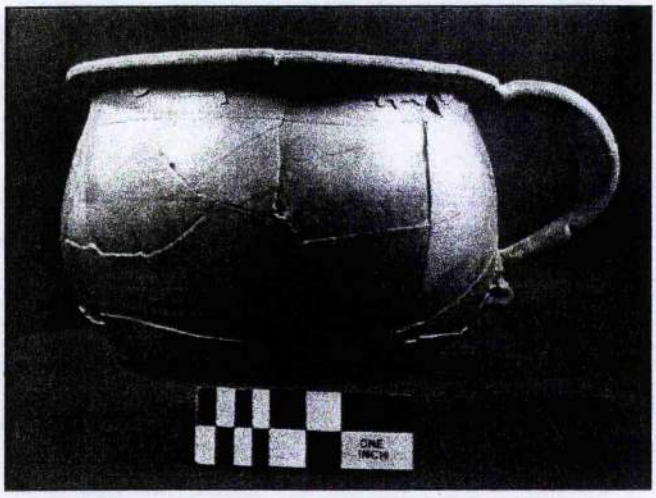
[634] Al Luckenbach and John Kille, "Delftware Motifs and the Dating of Rumney's Tavern, London Town, Maryland (c.1724)." *English Ceramics Circle.* (In Press, 2002.) Also see, James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1996.), Chap 3.

[635] Carolyn L. Gryczkowski, "Tobacco-Pipes from Rumney's Tavern at London Town (ca. 1700-1730)." In *The Clay Tobacco-Pipe in Anne Arundel County, Maryland* (1650-1730), eds. Al Luckenbach, C. Jane Cox and John Kille (Annapolis, Maryland: Anne Arundel County, 2002), 94.

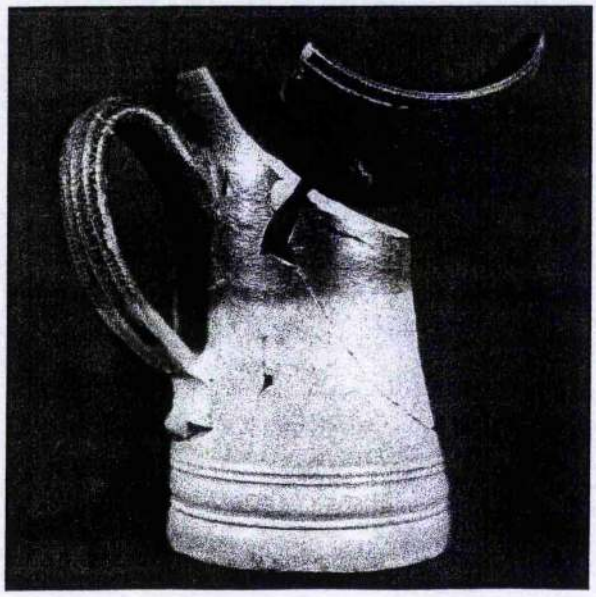
Figure 9.5 (1 of 2)
Rumney's Tavern Cellar Vessel Types



Rumney's Tavern Feature 100
Vessel 7: White Salt-glazed
Stoneware Westerwald

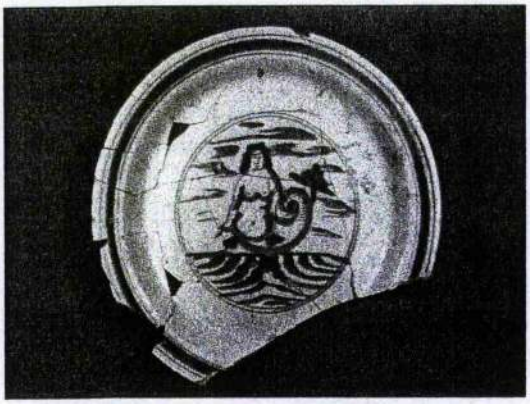


Rumney's Tavern Feature 100
Vessel 9: Delft, Glaze Exfoliated

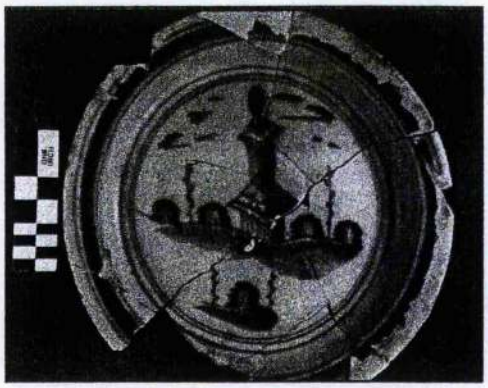


Rumney's Tavern Feature 100
Vessel 20: Stoneware, Fulham

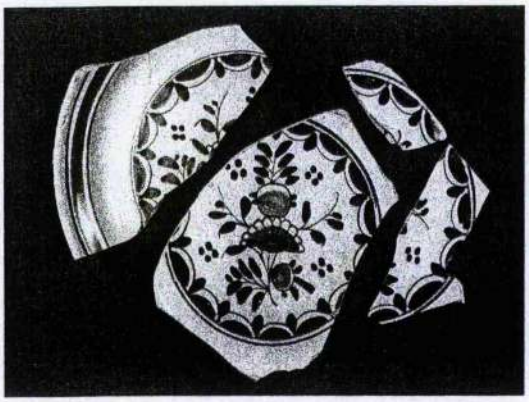
Figure 9.5 (2 of 2)
Rumney's Tavern Cellar Vessel Types: Delftware Vessels



Rumney's Tavern Feature 100
Vessel 4



Rumney's Tavern Feature 100
Vessel 13



Rumney's Tavern Feature 100
Vessel 16

Rumney's Tavern Feature 100
Vessel 3

Rumney's Tavern Feature 100
Vessel 22, Exterior

Rumney's Tavern Feature 100
Vessel 22, Interior

excavations at Vauxhall (on the Thames in London, England).[636]

Decorative patterns from Rumney's Tavern Cellar delftware plates, bowls, and cups were categorized into eight predominant motifs. (Figure 9.6) These patterns are: [1)] berry, [2)] butterfly, [3)] dotted circle, [4)] pendant scroll, [5)] sunflower, [6)] hatched floral scroll, [7)] barber pole band, and [8)] three-banded border.[637] In some cases, elements were used together on one vessel. For example, a three-banded border motif was found on nine different plates. The main element of decoration for three of the nine plates was a mermaid/merman depiction: each had the same banded edging. Four of the nine exhibited a sunflower motif as the plate's main decorative element with the banded design. The last two examples of the three-band border occur on delftware plates with a pagoda image in the center and the banded pattern on the outside edge of the surface. This repetition of design motifs suggests sets of delftware plates.

Analysis of Rumney's delftware design motifs was based on a systematic study of other delftware assemblages from sites in England. Classifications of "identical" and "similar" were used to establish date ranges for the London Town pieces. Based on this approach, the delftware motif analysis yields a depositional date range for the Rumney Tavern Cellar of 1721 to 1723. This corresponds with chain of title documents for the property. The first owner of the tavern, Edward Rumney, died in 1712 but Annapolis lawyer Charles Carroll held the property in

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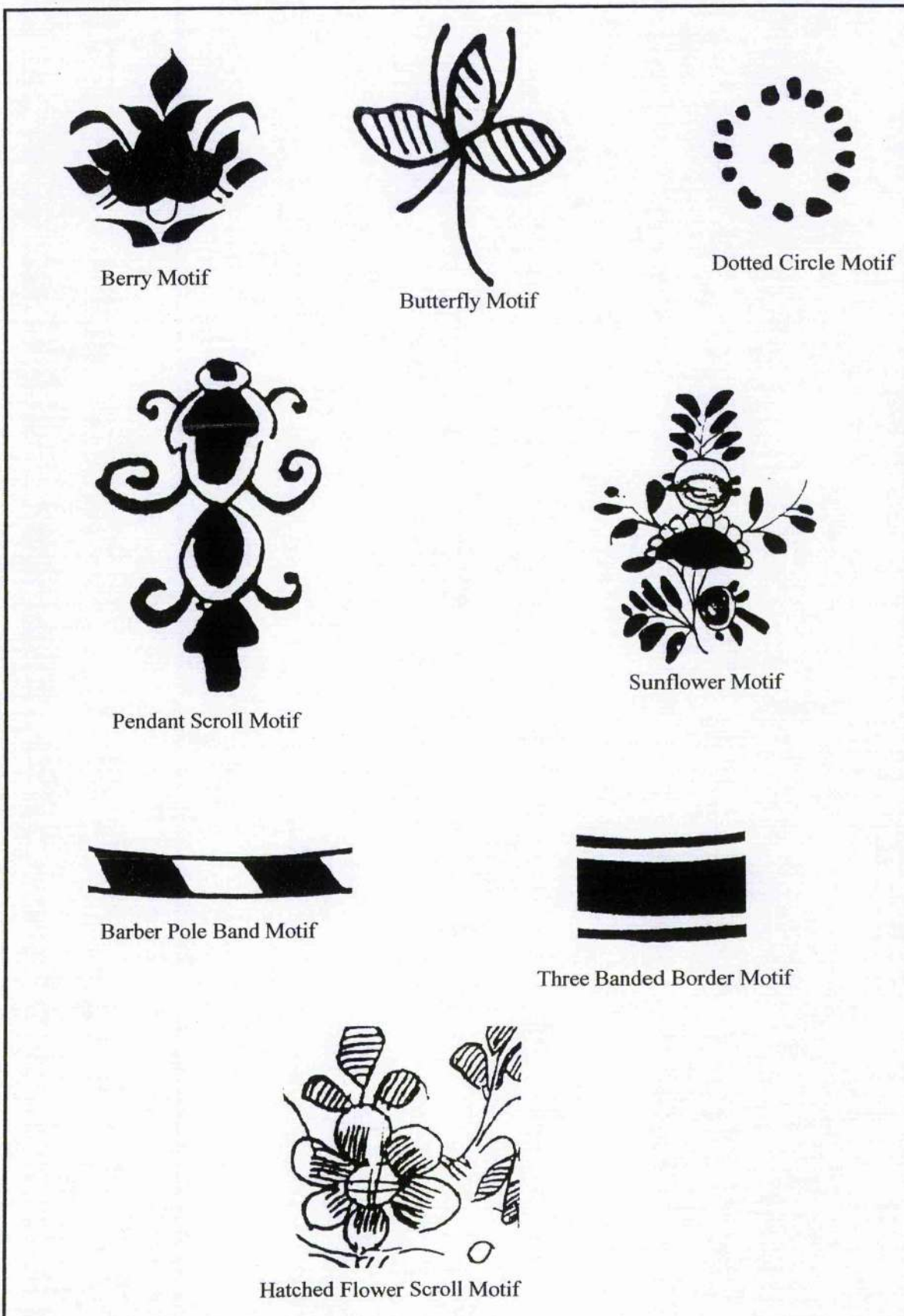
[636] Frank Britton, *London Delftware* (London: Jonathan Horne, 1987), 68-71. The Vauxhall Pottery Site was excavated by the Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Society in 1969/70, 1972, and 1977/78. Also, see Louis Lipski and Michael Archer, *Dated English Delftware: Tin-glazed Earthenware, 1600-1800* (London: Southeby Publications, 1984).

[637] Luckenbach and Kille, "Delftware Motifs," (In Press).

Figure 9.6
Eight Predominate Delftware Motifs



mortgage until 1723.[638] During this period, Rumney's widow (Eleanor) played some role (either as tenant or operator) in the tavern until it was purchased by Stephen West in 1723.[639] Based on these two pieces of information, it can be surmised that West abandoned Rumney's cellar when he assumed ownership of lot 87, resulting in the trash filled feature.

Utility of Vessel Forms

As noted, 56% of ceramics from the tavern cellar were delftware. Overall, the assemblage consists of 98 different individual vessels of 15 different ceramic types.[640] Of these, 55 were serving vessels and only eight were identified with food preparation or storage. Therefore, activities at the tavern were service oriented; that is, food and beverage service for tavern patrons. Much of the food and drink was served in delftware cups, plates, and bowls.

There was also a significant amount of glassware found in the tavern cellar. The eastern half of the feature alone yielded 44 beverage bottles, 18 drinking glasses, 11 pharmaceutical bottles, and one perfume bottle.[641] Flint-glass drinking vessels consisted mostly of decorated stemmed wares and one plain-stemmed dram glass.[642] Wine stems were decorated with knops of ball, acorn, and cushion

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[638] Mechelle Kerns, "Known London Town Lots with Buildings" (Unpublished: 2000), 10. Report for Anne Arundel County's Lost Towns Project and on file at the Anne Arundel County Department of Planning and Zoning, Archaeology Division, Annapolis, Maryland.

[639] MSA AA CO. Land Records, Deeds Liber RCW2, folio 219; 1723. Eleanor continued to renew her Ordinary License until the middle of the 18th century (from Anne Arundel Court Judgments). However, she was living in Annapolis with her son where they operated a tavern.

[640] Luckenbach and Kille, "Delftware Motifs" (In Press).

[641] Al Luckenbach and Patricia N. Dance "Drink and Be Merry: Glass Vessels from Rumney's Tavern (18AN48), London, Maryland." *Maryland Archaeology* 34 no. 2 (1998): 3.

[642] Flint-glass: "The compounds of the flint contain two parts lead, one part sand, and one part saltpeter or borax. (OED)

varieties. The style of these drinking vessels suggests their use; attractive presentation of food, wines and liquors to a clientele expecting, and able to pay for, such service.

Pipe Study

Rumney's tavern was not only rich in pottery; it also held many examples of colonial-period tobacco pipes.[643] Excavation of the cellar yielded 854 pipe fragments, 516 (or 61%) of which were measurable.[644] Pipe bore measurements ranged from 7/64^{ths} to 4/64^{ths} with 5/64^{ths} being the predominant diameter. Harrington's pipestem bore serration model resulted in a date range from 1710 to 1750.[645] Binford's bore hole formula provided a date of 1744.3 and Hanson's formula #5 produced a date range of 1732.7+/- when the collection was analyzed as a whole. When pipe assemblages were studied in their respective beds and stratigraphic layers, a different date range was found for each, suggesting the cellar was filled in gradually between 1710 and 1730.[646]

Study of Rumney's Tavern pipes also included an analysis of minimum pipe counts. This minimum number was generated by a tabulation of stem-bowl joints and complete bowls. Based on this analysis, it was determined that the cellar

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[643] Although stem-bore analysis has seen revision and some criticism in recent years, it is widely used in Chesapeake archaeology, as many sites are isolated such as plantation or homestead sites. This processed was used for the pipe fragments from Rumney's tavern cellar with the results correlating with other derived dates.

[644] Gryczkowski, "Tobacco-Pipes from Rumney's Tavern," 95.

[645] Gryczkowski, "Tobacco Pipes from Rumney's Tavern," 95.

[646] Although the accuracy of pipe-bore measurements has been contested the procedure is routinely used in Chesapeake terrestrial archaeology.

fill held a minimum of 96 pipes.[647] "Eighty-four of the 96 white-clay tobacco-pipes recovered from the cellar could be classified as heeled or heelless; the remaining 12 were missing large portions of the base and could not be classified."[648]

A study of makers' marks was employed to help establish dates for the tavern cellar site. Only 12 examples of decoration or makers' marks were recovered from Rumney's Cellar. Of those 12, only two distinct makers' marks were identified. The initials "W M" were found on a heelless pipe, and "W M" with a crown over the letters was found on a heeled pipe. Both makers' marks are attributed to William Manby and William Manby, Jr., of London. It appears that William Manby, Sr., produced pipes from 1681 to 1696 and William, Jr., from 1719 to 1763.[649] "W M" pipes have been recovered from Williamsburg, Virginia; at the site of King's Reach in Calvert County, Maryland; and at the St. John's Site in St. Mary's City, Maryland. All of these Chesapeake sites have early eighteenth-century phases of historic occupation.[650]

Other makers' marks recovered consist of one heeled pipe that has an "I" on the left and a "W" on the right side of the bowl. (Figure 9.7) A similar pipe bowl had an "A" on the left and an "S" on the right. A third two-sided mark used an "I" on the left and an "H" on the right. Four other complete marks found on cellar pipes are "WH," "WP," "AS" and "IW," but attribution to a particular maker

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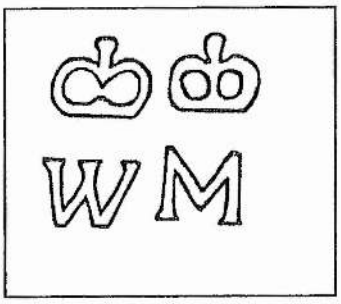
[647] Gryczkowski, "Tobacco Pipes from Rumney's Tavern" 96-97.

[648] Gryczkowski, "Tobacco-Pipes from Rumney's Tavern," 97.

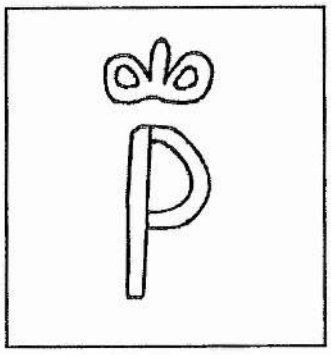
[649] For a more complete study of makers' marks consult Adrian Oswald, *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist*, vol. 14 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1975) and D. R. Atkinson and Adrian Oswald, *Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe III: Britain the North and West*, vol. 78, Peter Davey, ed. (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1980).

[650] Gryczkowski, "Tobacco-Pipes from Rumney's Tavern," 98.

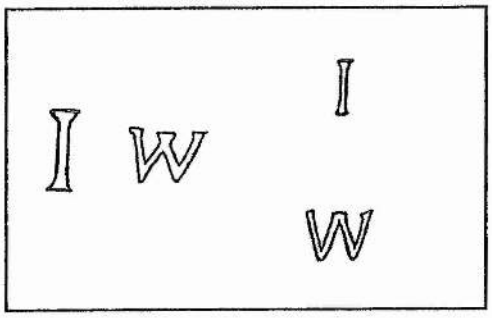
Figure 9.7
Examples of Pipe Makers' Marks from Rumney's Tavern Cellar



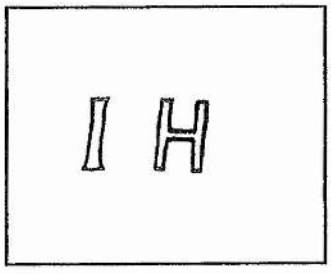
Crowned "W M"



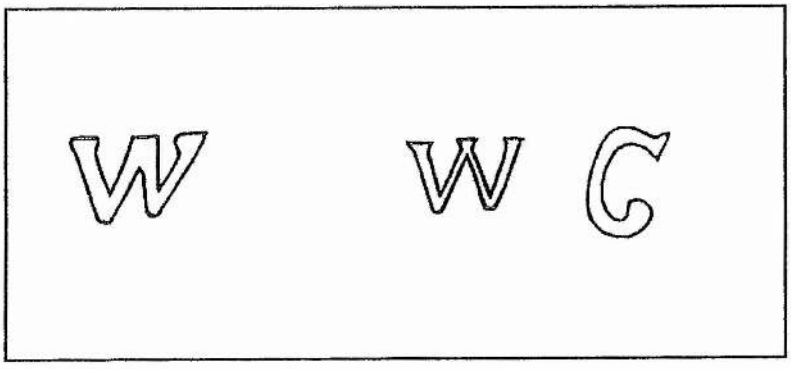
Crowned "P"



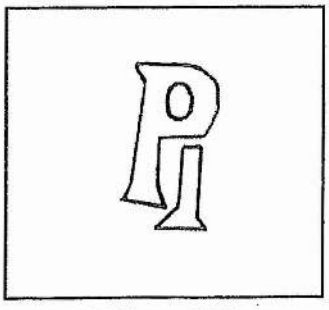
"I W"



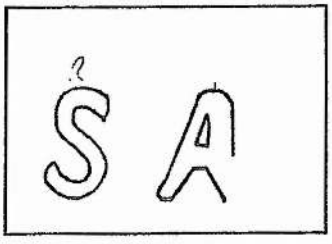
"I H"



"W" & "W G"



"P I" or "R"



"S A"

Based on the drawings of Shawn Sharpe, Anne Arundel County's *Lost Towns Project*. All marks are three times their original size, 3:1.

is not certain.[651] Three marks from the collection were incomplete. One consists of a "P" with a crown above it. Other incomplete marks are "H" and "C," assumed to be halves of pairs of initials.

Decorative marks on pipes also were helpful in establishing a date range for tavern occupation. Two such pipe motifs are the sunburst (stamped on both sides) and the harp (on either side of a heeled pipe). Both range in date from 1720 to 1760.[652] Collective use of bore measurement analysis, pipe bowl forms, and makers' marks and motifs suggests that pipes from Rumney's Tavern Cellar date from the first third of the eighteenth century. As mentioned, this period coincides with the property conveyance. Therefore, multiple lines of evidence point to 1725 as the final in-filling date for the Rumney's Tavern Cellar.

DISCUSSION OF MATERIAL CULTURE

What does all this archaeological data say about life in London Town? First, it shows that London Town had at least one tavern, perhaps better known as an "ordinary," which was well stocked and finely provisioned. Items discovered, such as delft, show that the tavern owner invested in these wares to provide niceties for patrons, suggesting a wealthier clientele. Probate records from the town's merchants as well as port records, show that London Town residents were able to obtain a great variety of household wares and imported foodstuffs. (See Chapters 5 and 6.) The rich and varied tavern cellar assemblage helps one step back in time to see what items were used in day-to-day life. In the plantation colonies of the Chesapeake, gathering places were rare and taverns served as

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[651] Gryczkowski, "Tobacco Pipes from Rumney's Tavern," 98-99.

social, political, and economic institutions and were an important part of American colonial life.[653] Merchants did business in taverns and political ideas and world news were discussed and conveyed from person to person. In London Town, Rumney's Tavern was not only a meeting place, but also an inn for travelers and a place to wait for the South River Ferry. Tavern patrons included local merchants, planters, and shipmasters, and travelers in need of food and lodging.

HISTORICAL SETTING AND SITE COMPARISONS

Studies of other colonial tavern excavations help place London Town in context. Rockman and Rothschild studied and compared the artifact assemblages from four eighteenth-century taverns: two from urban areas and two from rural areas. Their findings are useful in understanding the London Town tavern. Rockman and Rothschild determined that taverns in urban settings served different social functions from their rural counterparts. Consequently, they yielded measurably different artifact assemblages. For example, urban taverns served principally as public meeting places: a place to drink and visit, discuss politics, conduct business and linger over a pipe full of tobacco. Therefore, these urban taverns yield proportionally higher numbers of pipe-related artifacts.[654] In contrast, rural taverns served a wider range of functions for their communities. They also functioned as inns and places of public dining. Hence, these rural taverns contain artifacts associated with meeting places, (i.e. such as tobacco

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[652] Gryczkowski, "Tobacco Pipes from Rumney's Tavern," 98-99. See Atkinson as sited, pg. 255.

[653] Diana Diz Rockman and Nan A. Rothschild, "City Tavern, Country Tavern: An Analysis of Four Colonial Sites," *Historical Archaeology* 18 no. 2 (1984): 112.

[654] Rockman and Rothschild, "City Tavern, Country Tavern," :114.

pipes), but they also had high proportions of artifacts associated with food storage and preparation.[655] It appears that taverns in urban areas played more specialized roles, and were used primarily as meeting places, while those located in rural communities served several functions, including that of accommodation.[656] When Rumney's Tavern artifacts are compared to three additional "city taverns" (Shields Tavern in Williamsburg, Virginia, St. John's Inn in St. Mary's, Maryland and Freeman's Ordinary in Annapolis) and one "country tavern" (John Ruth Inn, New Castle County, Delaware) the nature of the tavern of London Town becomes more clear, that of a rural tavern.

Of taverns studied by Rockman and Rothschild, two (Lovelace, and Jamestown) were urban and two (J. Earthy and Wellfleet) were rural. The authors compared artifact assemblages by looking at two artifact groups: pipes and ceramics. Differences (percentages were use) in the amounts of these two artifact types were compared to show differences and similarities between social functions of the sites. When the four are compared to each other, they provide a continuum that can be used to assess the degree of urbanization of their locations.[657] Each site also was considered in its historical context. For instance, Lovelace was located in New York City, a large urban area, and represents the top end of the continuum with a very high level of pipe artifacts but few ceramics. The other end of the spectrum is represented by the Wellfleet Tavern on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, which was used by the local whaling community as well as travellers.[658] Artifacts of Wellfleet tavern consisted of over 75% percent ceramics. (Chart 9.1)

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[655] Rockman and Rothschild, "City Tavern, Country Tavern," :114.

[656] Rockman and Rothschild, "City Tavern, Country Tavern," :119.

[657] Rockman and Rothschild, "City Tavern, Country Tavern," :116.

When the same artifact comparison was conducted for London Town, it had a nearly identical pipe-to-ceramic ratio as that of Wellfleet Tavern. Furthermore, the two sites were very similar in their historical and physical context. Wellfleet Tavern was situated on a peninsula, overlooking a harbour. It was a place where whalers, who beached and killed whales, would wait for them to appear in the harbour, then take to their boats and hunt. It appears that Wellfleet Tavern was not a "typical crossroads tavern, it is clearly set in a rural environment and may well have afforded overnight food and lodging for those travelling by boat."[659] Therefore, this tavern was rural and served both a local population and travellers. London Town, as described previously, was in a tobacco town where local merchants, factors, and planters would have waited for ships to appear in the South River. It was also on a main road and served travellers with its ferry crossing. Therefore, the contexts of the two taverns are similar. They both served a local clientele in a relatively isolated area and provided lodging and food for travellers.

A tavern site that can be considered part of Maryland's earliest urban settlement is St. John's Inn at St. Mary's City. The Maryland colony was established at St. Mary's City in 1634. By 1642, the Maryland had five civil subdivisions called hundreds and 182 taxable residents. St. Mary's was the legislative and judicial center of the young colony.[660] Occupation of the St. John's Inn site commenced in 1638, just four years after the first colonists arrived in Maryland. However, the inn at St. John's was established some 35 years later in

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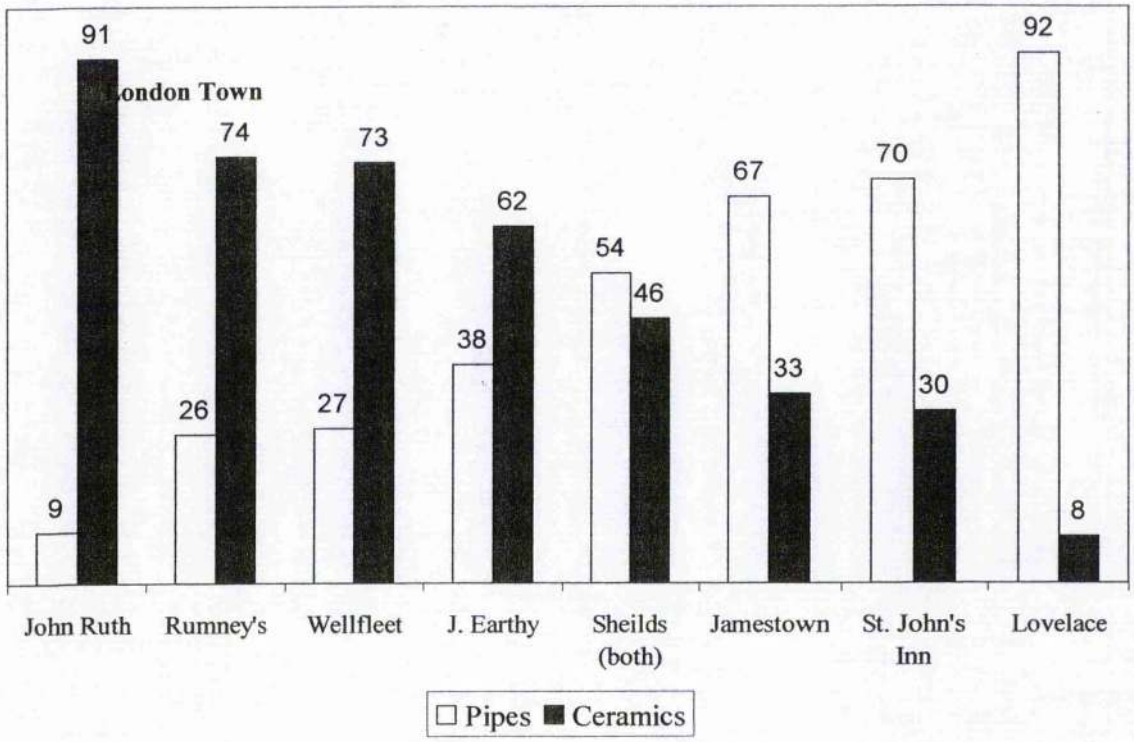
[658] Rockman and Rothschild, "City Tavern, Country Tavern": 115.

[659] Rockman and Rothschild, "City Tavern, Country Tavern": 116.

[660] Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 26.

Chart 9.1

Proportions of Recovered Pipes and Ceramics: Site Comparisons



Shields Tavern data from Gregory J. Brown, et al., *Archaeological Investigations of the Shields Tavern Site, Williamsburg, Virginia.* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Department of Archaeological Research, 1990). Data on Wellfleet, J. Earthy, Jamestown and Lovelace taverns from Diana Diz Rockman and Nan A. Rothchild, "City Tavern, Country Tavern: An Analysis of Four Colonial Sites." *Historical Archaeology* 18 no. 2 (1984): 112-121. Data from the John Ruth Inn site from Ellis C. Coleman, et al., *Final Archaeological Investigations of the John Ruth Inn Site, 7NC-D-126, Red Mill Road and Routes 4 and 273, New Castle County, Delaware.* (Delaware: Delaware Department of Transportation, Division of Highways, Location and Environmental Studies Office, 1990). Data on the St. John's Inn site from Julia A King,"A Comparative Midden Analysis of a Household and Inn in St. Mary's City, Maryland." *Historical Archaeology* 22 (1988): 17-39.

1668.

St. John's was located at the eastern edge of St. Mary's City and it had two main periods of occupancy. First, the site was a tobacco plantation and from 1638 until c. 1666, St. John's served as the domestic household for a series of elite occupants, their families and servants.[661] The second phase of occupation covered the period of 1668 until the 1690s when the site functioned primarily as an inn and as a residence for the innkeeper, his family, and servants.[662] The property consisted of a hall and parlor dwelling house, a separate kitchen and living quarters for servants. Only the data from the inn period will be addressed.

The ceramic to pipe ratio (70% pipes and 30% ceramics) is very similar to that of Jamestown, another colonial capital. (See Chart 9.1) The number of ceramics particular to beverage consumption and food service is nearly equal at 53% and 47% respectively. This relationship is similar to the assemblage found at Rumney's Tavern. However, the early context of the St. John's site may have produced fewer beverage related artifacts and likely "reflects the availability of ceramics and their use in the first and second halves of the seventeenth century."[663] Tea drinking was not widespread in the American colonies until the second quarter of the eighteenth-century, thus the absence of "teawares" and other specialized vessels. Tea consumption increased after the 1720s: "Between 1722 and 1833 British . . . per capita tea consumption rocketed from one ounce to two to three pounds."[664] After 1730, tea was very popular in the colonies. Its use transcended

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[661] Julia A King, "A Comparative Midden Analysis of a Household and Inn in St. Mary's City, Maryland" *Historical Archaeology* 22 (1988): 21.

[662] King, "Household and Inn," 21.

[663] King, "Household and Inn," 28.

[664] Ann Smart Martin, "The Role of Pewter as Missing Artifact: Consumer Attitudes Toward Tablewares in Late 18th Century Virginia" *Historical Archaeology* 23, no. 2 (1989): 8.

class, and colonists "imported tea and its accoutrements- tables, pots, cups, tongs and side dishes."[665]

Williamsburg was the second capital of the colony of Virginia. Established in 1699, it replaced the original capital at Jamestown.[666] Like Annapolis, it was designed (purposely laid out) to be a capital city with services for travelers and residents and public buildings for government and education. It was the political and social center of Virginia for most of the colonial period.[667] It was also, like Annapolis, located on the main north-south road in the colonies but faced decline when, after the American Revolution, Richmond (like Baltimore for Maryland) supplanted Williamsburg as the financial center of the colony. Furthermore, Richmond was made the capital of Virginia in 1779 and Williamsburg was left to be known as the home to the College of William and Mary (established in 1691) and a collection of colonial brick buildings.[668] By 1790, Richmond ranked as the seventh largest city in the young United States.[669]

During its first years of development, Williamsburg was home to many taverns that served the traveling public, visiting legislators, and planters from nearby tobacco plantations. Shields Tavern has been part of the fabric of Williamsburg since 1707. It was documented in a historical and archaeological report in 1990 and is a good example of an urban tavern that faced competition

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[665] Butler, *Becoming America*, 155.

[666] Ivor Noel Hume, *Here Lies Virginia: An Archaeologist's View of Colonial Life and History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 76-77.

[667] Gregory J. Brown, et al., *Archaeological Investigations of the Shields Tavern Site, Williamsburg, Virginia* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Department of Archaeological Research, 1990), 7.

[668] *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Virginia."

[669] NYPL, *American History*, 215.

from both other such taverns and fickle patrons.[670]

The Shields Tavern site consists of four main periods of occupation: the Pre-Tavern Period (1633-1708); Early Tavern Period (1708-1738); the Late Tavern Period (1738-1751); and the Post-Tavern Period (1751-1800). Herein, the data from the Early and Late Tavern periods are reviewed. Excavations at Shield's Tavern suggest that the period of 1740 to 1760 was the last phase of tavern occupation.[671] Historical research found that:

> In the space of less than twenty years, the Shields Tavern property went from an undeveloped but cleared part of a frontier settlement to a small partially developed semi-urban lot containing a small house . . . to a thriving commercial property containing an establishment suitable to lodge . . . influential gentlemen . . .. Within the next fifty years, the lot underwent at least four major changes of ownership, and went from an upscale Huguenot-owned tavern and meeting center to a tenement shared by an immigrant professional and the Governor's former blacksmith.[672]

Its success and failure had much to do with its location and the economic situation of Williamsburg. Thus, it faced a fate not unlike that of London Town.

Since Williamsburg was home to both the General Court and the Virginia House of Burgesses, the population of the town increased dramatically when the court and legislature met biannually, thus providing business for local taverns. Legislators and judges were usually of the planter class and therefore possessed financial means and taste befitting their class; an advantageous market. Shield's tavern keeper Jean Marot utilized all these advantages to develop a high-class establishment."[673] In 1714, he expanded his facility and the site eventually

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[670] See Gregory J. Brown, et al., *Archaeological Investigations of the Shields Tavern Site, Williamsburg, Virginia* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Department of Archaeological Research, 1990).

[671] Brown, et al., *Shields Tavern Site*, 39, 51, 91 and 97-98.

[672] Brown, et al., *Shields Tavern Site*, 173.

[673] Brown, et al., *Shields Tavern Site*, 47.

consisted of fence lined garden beds, bricked and oyster shell walkways, outbuildings, stables, a dairy, and a well. He served cider, roast goose, roast beef, and veal, fricassee of chicken, and mutton. It seems that Shield's Tavern under Marot's ownership primarily was an ordinary that served food and offered lodgings. However, a frequent visitor to the tavern, William Byrd II noted eating many meals at the establishment but then leaving to go to a Williamsburg coffeehouse to play cards.[674] This indicates that Williamsburg had multiple establishments that served different purposes and clientele.

Marot's probate inventory of 1718 provides insight to the scale of Shield's Tavern during his period of ownership. At Marot's death, Shield's was equipped with 24 beds and an impressive stock of sheets and pillowcases. He also had 19 tables, more than 50 chairs, 12 cane stools, and ten chests of drawers. Apparently, the tavern employed many pewter vessels. Marot's inventory contained "eight dozen pewter plates as well as 100 pounds of old pewter and 192 pounds of new pewter . . .."[675] Although, Marot apparently appealed to the wealthy class it seems that his wife (Anne) was not able to sustain the same clientele and her ". . . subsequent establishment gradually became more popular among the lesser gentry and middling class."[676]

The Early Tavern period ceramic assemblage contained 118 vessels representing 19 different vessel forms. Late Tavern period ceramics consisted of 282 vessels representing 21 different vessel forms.[677] For comparison, the vessel count data were combined. These forms were separated into five categories:

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[674] Brown, et al., *Shields Tavern Site*, 48.

[675] Brown, et al., *Shields Tavern Site*, 50.

[676] Brown, et al., *Shields Tavern Site*, 53.

drinking vessels (42%), teawares (15%), food serving and consumption (31%), food storage and preparation vessels (11%), and toiletry items (12%).[678] The ratio of beverage to food service ware is very similar to Freeman's Ordinary in Annapolis (see next section): a tavern in a similar setting, an urban capital city. Similarly, the proportion of pipe to ceramics is similar to that of a tavern in Jamestown, also an urban setting. (See Chart 9.1)

The John Ruth Inn site in Delaware was originally occupied by Thomas Ogle, a farmer and mill owner. Ogle's property was located along a major road leading from the colonial Delaware capital of New Castle, west to Newark and north to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Archaeological excavations at the site and historical records revealed two periods of occupation. The first phase is known as the Ogletown Tavern phase and it covers the period from the 1730s until the 1780s. The second period of occupation covers the period from 1790s until the late nineteenth century and is known as the John Ruth Inn occupation.[679] The property changed hands fives times between 1768 and 1827. John Ruth purchased the tract and tavern in 1827.

What became known as John Ruth's Inn was on a crossroads where there was little development. During the later half of the eighteenth century, it mainly served travelers as the local "Ogletown" residents were dispersed on farms.[680] The region was predominantly agricultural and did not develop into an urban setting. By 1816, the White Clay Creek Hundred contained only 316 taxables and a

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[677] Brown, et al., *Shields Tavern Site*, 75 and 114.

[678] Brown, et al., *Shields Tavern Site*, 75.

[679] Coleman, *John Ruth Inn*, 41.

[680] Coleman, *John Ruth Inn*, 21.

majority of the houses were constructed of logs or wood.[681] In the late nineteenth century, the surrounding area had enough residents to support a school but most of the surrounding tracts consisted of farms of 60 to 100 acres.[682] The area faced decline due to the introduction of railroads after the 1830s. Railways that traveled from Baltimore to Philadelphia bypassed areas such as Ogletown and the services provided by crossroads towns were no longer needed. By 1880, the John Ruth Inn was abandoned. The building was destroyed in 1965 in order to construct a fast-food restaurant.[683]

Although the lying of sewer line and the construction of the present restaurant disturbed integrity of the John Ruth Inn site, an assemblage of mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century artifacts was discovered. Sixteen coins were recovered from site. Ten coins dated from 1720 to 1729.[684] Ceramic types consisted of white salt-glazed stoneware, Staffordshire earthenwares, delft earthenwares and variously decorated creamwares and pearlwares.[685] Analysis of ceramic types produced an occupation date range of 1725 to 1775, a mean ceramic date of 1750, and a pipe-stem date of 1735.[686] The relative percentage of pipe to ceramic at the site is stark: only 9% pipes and 91% ceramics. The percentages are opposite those of the urban Lovelace Tavern in New York City. (See Chart 9.1)

Historical documentation and relative artifact percentages show that the London Town tavern was rural in character. London Town was never part of a

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[681] Coleman, *John Ruth Inn*, 21.

[682] G. M. Hopkins, *Map of New Castle County Delaware* (Philadelphia: 1893).

[683] Coleman, *John Ruth Inn*, 27.

[684] Coleman, *John Ruth Inn*, 144. The others coins were discovered in disturbed context and dated from 1862 and 1946.

[685] Coleman, *John Ruth Inn*, 36.

[686] Coleman, *John Ruth Inn*, 152-153.

continuous urban setting. Rather, it was an isolated waypoint of specialized development in an overall rural setting. Its relative percentage of ceramic and pipe closely resemble those of the John Ruth Inn and Wellfleet Tavern, two establishments documented as waypoints and crossroads taverns serving the traveling public. Therefore, based on the Rockman/Rothschild paradigm, and other data presented herein, the setting for Rumney's Tavern was rural, suggesting that London Town was also rural in nature, denoting its isolated and commercial port setting.

Evidence Indicating Socioeconomic Status of Tavern Clientele

In studying these taverns, one can draw conclusions about socioeconomic characteristics of their patrons. What do artifacts from Rumney's Tavern Cellar tell us about people who used the site? A comparison of artifacts from a contemporary site paired with historical documentation helps define the characteristics of London Town patrons.

In 1997, artifacts from Rumney's Tavern Cellar were compared to another late-seventeenth-early-eighteenth-century tavern, the Freeman's Ordinary assemblage in Annapolis, Maryland.[687] Freeman's was owned and operated by John and Margaret Freeman during the first 30 years of Annapolis's existence as Maryland's capital city. Historical records suggest that workmen and laborers in Annapolis, particularly those building the new Statehouse ate, drank, and boarded

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[687] Al Luckenbach, Patricia N. Dance and Carolyn Gryzkowski. "Taverns and Urban Living in the Early 18th-Century Chesapeake: A Comparison of Two Assemblages from Anne Arundel County, Maryland." Unpublished paper presented at the 1998 meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Atlanta, Georgia. On file at the Office of Planning and Zoning, Anne Arundel County Archaeology (The Lost Towns Project), Annapolis, Maryland. R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates of Frederick, Maryland conducted the excavations of Freeman's Ordinary.

at Freeman's Ordinary.[688]

> By his Excellency the Governor & Council, Aug. 27: 1697.
> Upon Representation that the Workmen at the State House do much misspend their time and neglect the public work by Drunkenness and tippling in the Ordinaries within this Town and Port of Annapolis. Ordered therefore that a General Notice be Given by the Sheriff to all the Ordinary keepers therein; Strictly to forward them from Entertaining any of the said Workmen or Laborers in their Houses above a Quarter of an hour at a time (except Mr. Freeman's house, where they are Accommodated) at their Peril, and that the Sheriff Serve them Severally with a Copy of this Order His Mats Counsel at Law being hereby directed and Ordered (upon any Complaint made) to take forth an Action of 1000 lb. Sterling at the Kings Suit, against any Ordinary keeper that shall be found tardy therein, or Acting Contrary.[689]

Collections of artifacts for Freeman's and Rumney's taverns differ markedly and suggest two different types of patrons. Glass vessel counts for each site were as follows: Rumney's, 44 individual wine bottles of five different types; Freeman's, 18 individual wine bottles of three different types.[690] Similarly, each site had different amounts of table glassware. It made up only 1% of Freeman's overall glass assemblage, whereas table glass made up 15% of Rumney's assemblage. (Chart 9.2) These two particular artifact types suggest that patrons of Rumney's tavern consumed more wine and spirits than did Freeman's patrons.

Similarly, each tavern had starkly differing quantities of Fulham style mugs and tankards.[691] Freeman's Ordinary yielded nearly four times the number of Fulham drinking vessels: 32 percent versus Rumney's six percent. This suggests that workmen who frequented Freeman's preferred beer and cider to wine. Rumney's yielded more than double the amount of porcelain than Freeman's

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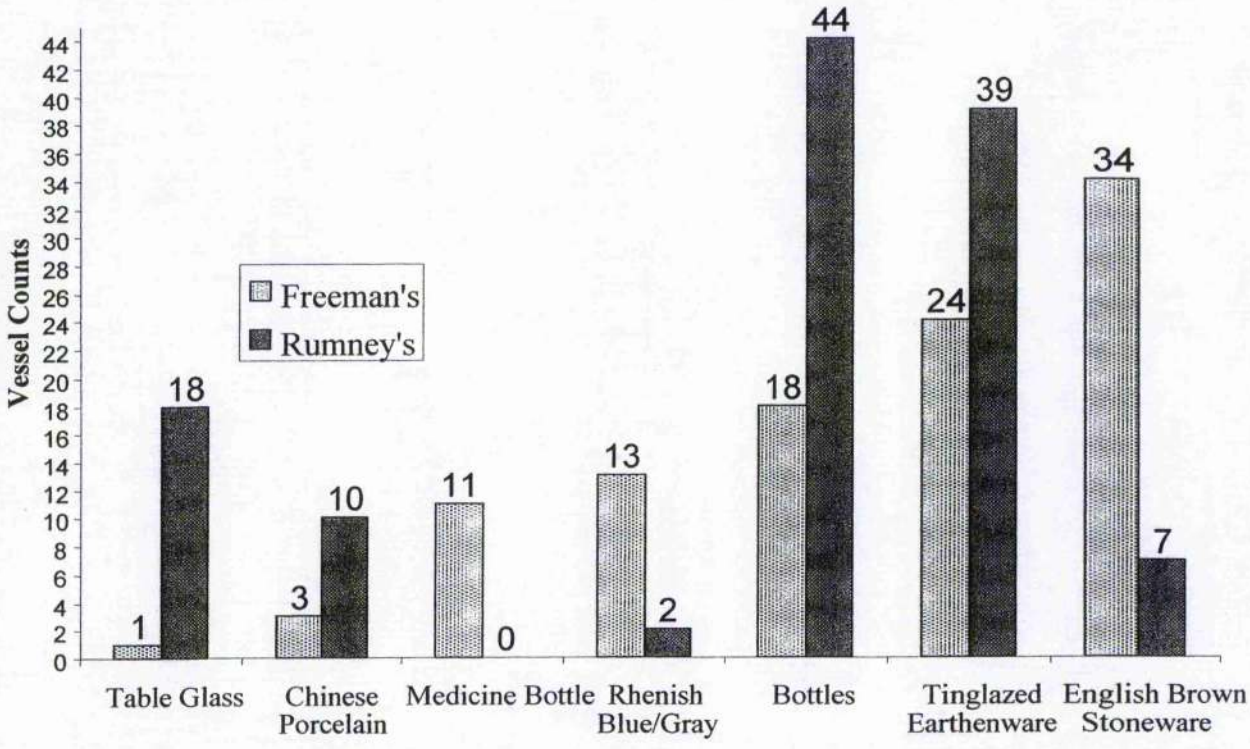
[688] The construction of the first statehouse began in 1696, however the original building burnt down in 1704.

[689] MSA, Archives of Maryland Vol. 23, 203. Transcribed by the author for clarity.

[690] Bottle types: case, onion, straight-onion, mallet and indeterminate.

[691] A common style of drinking vessel associated with taverns, used for ale, etc. largely produced near London, Fulham potteries.

Chart 9.2
Artifact Comparison: Freeman's Ordinary
VS. Runmey's Tavern



Data from: Luckenbach, Al., Patricia N. Dance and Carolyn Gryzkowski. "Taverns and Urban Living in the early 18th-Century Chesapeake: A comparison of Two Assemblages from Anne Arundel County, Maryland." Unpublished paper presented at the 1998 meeting of the *Society for Historical Archaeology*, Atlanta, Georgia: on file at the *Lost Towns Project*.

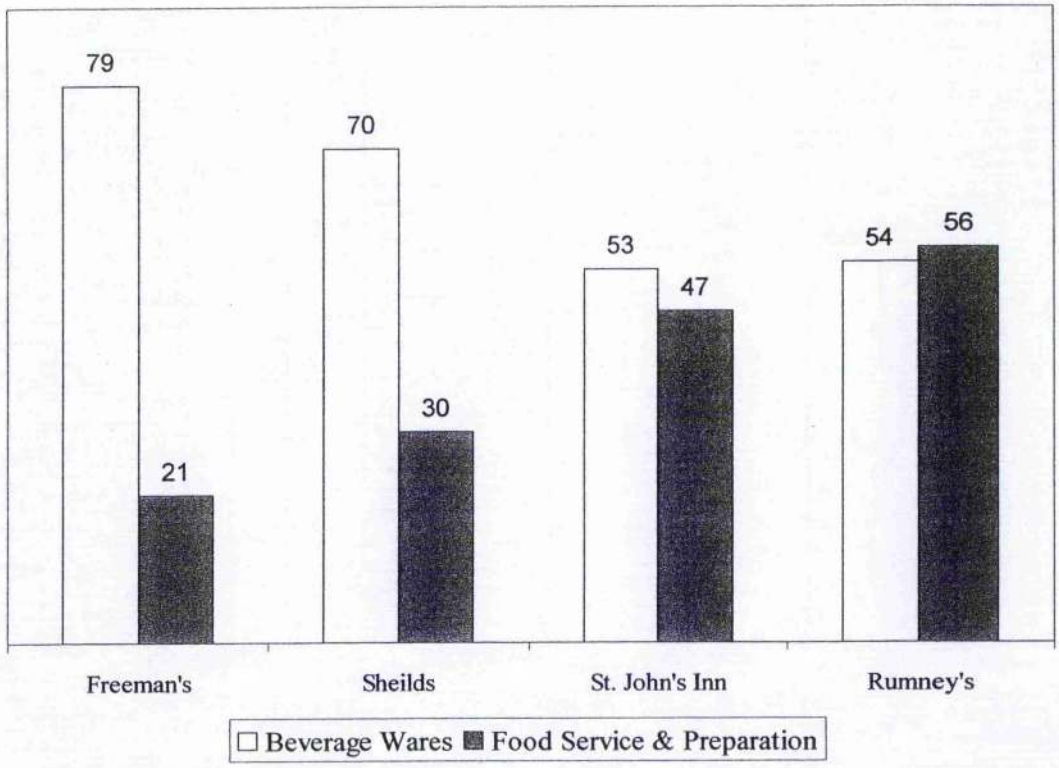
Ordinary, suggesting more tea and punch consumption. Tea and punch are beverages usually associated with leisure and expense. (Chart 9.3)

The previous section of the chapter describes differences that can perhaps be associated with rural verses urban taverns. Urban taverns appear to have strictly specialized as places of drinking and socializing. Rural taverns, in contrast, seem to have been more generalized establishments, also serving as boarding houses. The preponderance of beverage associated artifacts recovered form Freeman's Ordinary in Annapolis suggests that the tavern fits the urban model. Rumney's Tavern, in contrast, yielded nearly equal amounts of beverage- and food- related artifacts. This suggests that Rumney's was a more rural tavern, serving a less specialized function.

The presence of delftware, porcelain teawares, and wineglasses, suggests that Rumney's patrons enjoyed punch, tea, and wine. The high number of decorative, matched dinner plates suggests more formalized dining practices as opposed to communal meals. The majority of the tableware recovered from Rumney's were not utilitarian vessels, such as the sturdy Fulham type mugs found at Freeman's in Annapolis, but items used to set a genteel table in a rural setting on the road to Maryland's capital.

In conclusion, the setting for Rumney's Tavern was "rural" even thought the town could be considered "urban" when compared to its immediate and very rural surroundings. However, the town did not develop to the point where Rumney's Tavern became a specialized social space, as would have been found in Annapolis, Williamsburg, or St. Mary's (or true urban setting) during the same period. As part of a small settlement, Rumney's was both a tavern and an ordinary, in that it was a place to meet, wait and lodge as well as eat and drink.

Chart 9.3
Comparison of Beverage and Food Service Wares



Shields Tavern data from Gregory J. Brown, et al., *Archaeological Investigations of the Shields Tavern Site, Williamsburg, Virginia.* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Department of Archaeological Research, 1990). Data on the St. John's Inn site from Julia A King,"A Comparative Midden Analysis of a Household and Inn in St. Mary's City, Maryland." *Historical Archaeology* 22 (1988): 17-39. Al Luckenbach, Patricia N. Dance and Carolyn Gryzkowski. "Taverns and Urban Living in the Early 18th-Century Chesapeake: A Comparison of Two Assemblages from Anne Arundel County, Maryland." Unpublished paper presented at the 1998 meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Atlanta, Georgia.

This is evident from both artifact assemblages and the historical record. Perhaps colonial London Town was too small to warrant separate drinking and eating establishments. Perhaps it did not attract sufficient visitors. Whatever the reason, Rumney's Tavern served the London Town community as a very generalized gathering place, boarding house and watering hole with an artifact assemblage that suggest food and beverage service in a refined albeit rural setting.

Chapter 10: The History of London Town: Summation and Conclusions

SUMMATION

This case study of London Town combines historical and archaeological research to explore early colonial Chesapeake economic trends and their role in the development and tenure of tobacco towns. Tobacco towns were extremely important to the economic growth and development of Maryland during the eighteenth century. They served as focal points for a mercantile system that centered on exporting tobacco in exchange for manufactured goods. However, today most of these late seventeenth-century town sites are quaint tourist attractions or altogether forgotten. London Town was characteristic of these tobacco ports towns or "several other places called towns, but which must have struck visitors as too optimistically named, qualified as nothing more than hamlets."[692] Regardless of their size or tenure, they were emblematic of the colonial period and the economic growth that resulted from an expanding population in the British colonies of North America.

Noted historian Aubrey Land found in his work on colonial Maryland that:

> The Lord Proprietor had encouraged the establishment of urban places by proclamation, and somewhat later, the Assembly had passed acts laying out waterside town sites to serve as ports for tobacco ships. This town movement accorded with English thinking, which held that civil society could not permanently survive without towns and cities where merchants and tradesmen could follow their callings. Nevertheless, the attempts of Proprietor and Assembly proved abortive. Populations did not follow edicts and laws: the sites remained ghost towns and even their exact location became to later generations a matter of conjecture.[693]

This is a valid general description of the existence of London Town and the other

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[692] Land, *Colonial Maryland,* 120.

[693] Land, *Colonial Maryland,* 120-121.

tobacco towns in Maryland. However, before now a detailed study of London Town's physical and economic development had not existed. Tobacco towns were the building blocks of colonial Maryland due to their role in the tobacco trade and regional growth. London Town was an essential part of the plantation based economic system that dominated Maryland's prosperity from its founding up to the American Revolution.

London Town's larger contemporaries, such as St. Mary's (capital of Maryland 1634-1694) and Annapolis have been well documented. However, their nature was very different from that of London Town. St. Mary's was considered a city; it was the county seat and the colonial capital as well as a port for trade. It had a courthouse and a church, as did Annapolis. By their very architecture, they were more permanent. Their buildings were of brick unlike the earthfast structures of London Town. London Town also lacked the systems and infrastructure of permanence. St. Mary's can be compared to its successor Annapolis (Anne Arundel County seat and capital since 1694) but not to London Town. They were too different.

The towns most similar to London Town are among the 35 that were established along with London Town by the 1686 Town Act. Unfortunately, very few of these towns have been studies in much detail. Only 11 still exist, while the locations of 14 are known but the towns have disappeared and the remaining 10 have completely vanished. This work provides a detailed study which examines the town's creation and growth, its inhabitants, the goods traded there, and the factors that contributed to London Town's demise.

Conclusions

Analysis of the land and probate records, newspapers, and port documents used in this study help to explain the nature of life in London Town and the activities of its inhabitants. It thereby resulted in several conclusions regarding London Town's creation, growth and development, its trade and the causes behind the town's decline.

Creation, Growth, and Development

The establishment of London Town is documented in the Acts and Proceedings of the Maryland Assembly. Information presented herein shows how London Town was part of an economic stimulus plan suggested by the Board of Trade and implemented by the Maryland Assembly. The establishment of such towns was meant to promote the tobacco trade and bolster the mercantile economy of Britain. However, to delineate the development and growth of London Town, hundreds of land records had to be analyzed. The outcome was a detailed timeline of lot conveyance for property in London Town showing the areas of occupation.

This data shows that London Town was slow to develop until after the founding of Annapolis in 1694 and the establishment of an important and busy ferry crossing in the town. The transfer of Maryland's colonial capital from St. Mary's City to Annapolis, placed London Town near the administrative and economic center of the colony making it a transportation hub and more attractive to merchants. This is demonstrated in the number of lots sold in London Town per decade. During the period from 1700 to 1709, only three lots were sold in London Town. However, the subsequent decades saw substantial investment in the town: from 1710 to 1719, 18 lots were sold; from 1720 to 1729, 19 lots were sold: from

1730 to 1739, 13 lots were sold and from 1740 to 1749, 12 lots were sold in London Town. This period was the only phase of sustained growth for London Town and it occurred during the intra-war period of 1713 until 1740 or during the interim of the end of Queen Anne's War and the beginning of the War of Austrian Succession. This demonstrates that London Town's livelihood, the tobacco trade, was very sensitive to the effects of war. London Town's mercantile-based economy was at the mercy of foreign trade and when war hindered or stopped trade, London Town was significantly affected.

Trade

Port records and other data relating to trade in Anne Arundel County show that London Town was the most important tobacco town in the region during the eighteenth century. Over a period of more than 55 years, 231 ships came to London Town to take on tobacco: nearly twice as many as Annapolis on the Severn River. This concentration of shipping at London Town shows that it was indeed important to the tobacco trade in Anne Arundel County, regardless of its tenure. Moreover, data presented herein illustrates that the residents of Anne Arundel County were constructing, growing, and processing other goods for exportation, to other colonies and internationally as well. Port records outlined activities such as grain production, the making of staves and heading, iron production, the provisioning of ships and the cultivation of hemp and flax (to make cloth and rope). These heretofore-ignored commodities show that the economy of colonial Anne Arundel County was more complex than once thought. Intercolonial trade laid the foundation for a commercial future without Britain, preparing residents for the changes in the trading environment, and stimulated new

manufacturing to aid in the American Revolution. The idea of the tobacco trade has so dominated historic discourse that some of the other contributing factors of growth such as shipbuilding and related industries has been overlooked. With that said, although other commodities were being produced in the county for export, and the colonial market appears to undergo some diversification by mid-century, London Town remained primarily dependent on the tobacco trade, a cause of its demise.

Decline

The reasons and causes for London Town's demise number more than its one reason for existence. The most obvious effect on London Town's growth and prosperity was the relative condition of Britain's mercantile empire. When Britain was at war, with what had been its trading partners (France for example), the tobacco market was weakened thus reducing trade in London Town. This is reflected in both the number of property conveyances in the town (growth) and the number of ships visiting London Town each year (prosperity).

London Town was also reliant on the conditions of the tobacco market in Maryland. Over production and thus, low prices caused a stagnation of the tobacco market in the 1740s. The War of Austrian Succession, the Seven Years War and a series of tax related insurrections plagued trade during the second half of the eighteen century. Therefore, by the out-break of the American Revolution, London Town was floundering due to forces from within the colony and the condition of the international trade environment. Even the town's most prominent merchant, James Dick, was negatively affected, losing ships and business, by the nonimportation agreements and other forms of economic retaliations directed

against Britain by the colonies.

Although people were still living in London Town after the Revolutionary War, no new residents were buying into the town and second sons were choosing other locations to live, selling their lots in London Town. The post-war period saw a significant amount of lot consolidation and what had been town lots became small farms. London Town was dependent on family trade relations and once these relations ended due to death or relocation, the trade, and character of the town began to die with it.

As the population of Maryland increased new areas of development began to negatively effect the growth of London Town. Baltimore became *the* commercial center of Maryland and its largest city. Furthermore, once areas in western Maryland (Upper Marlborough, Bladensburg, Washington, DC) began to grow, London Town's importance was further diminished as new roads serving these new areas bypassed London Town and its ferry crossing. The 1794 Griffith Map shows the course of the road that skirted the new towns, dotting Maryland roads about every 15 miles throughout the state. (Figure 10.1) By 1804, a new east-west route led to Annapolis "round the head of the South River," avoiding London Town.[694] The new towns were different from London Town, they offered services, churches, government and were developing economies that were more diversified offering better prospects for new immigrants.

London Town was left behind during the Federal Period and dissolved into a community of the county's poor, no longer a destination for tobacco ships. By 1826, what had once been the center of the town was occupied by the county's

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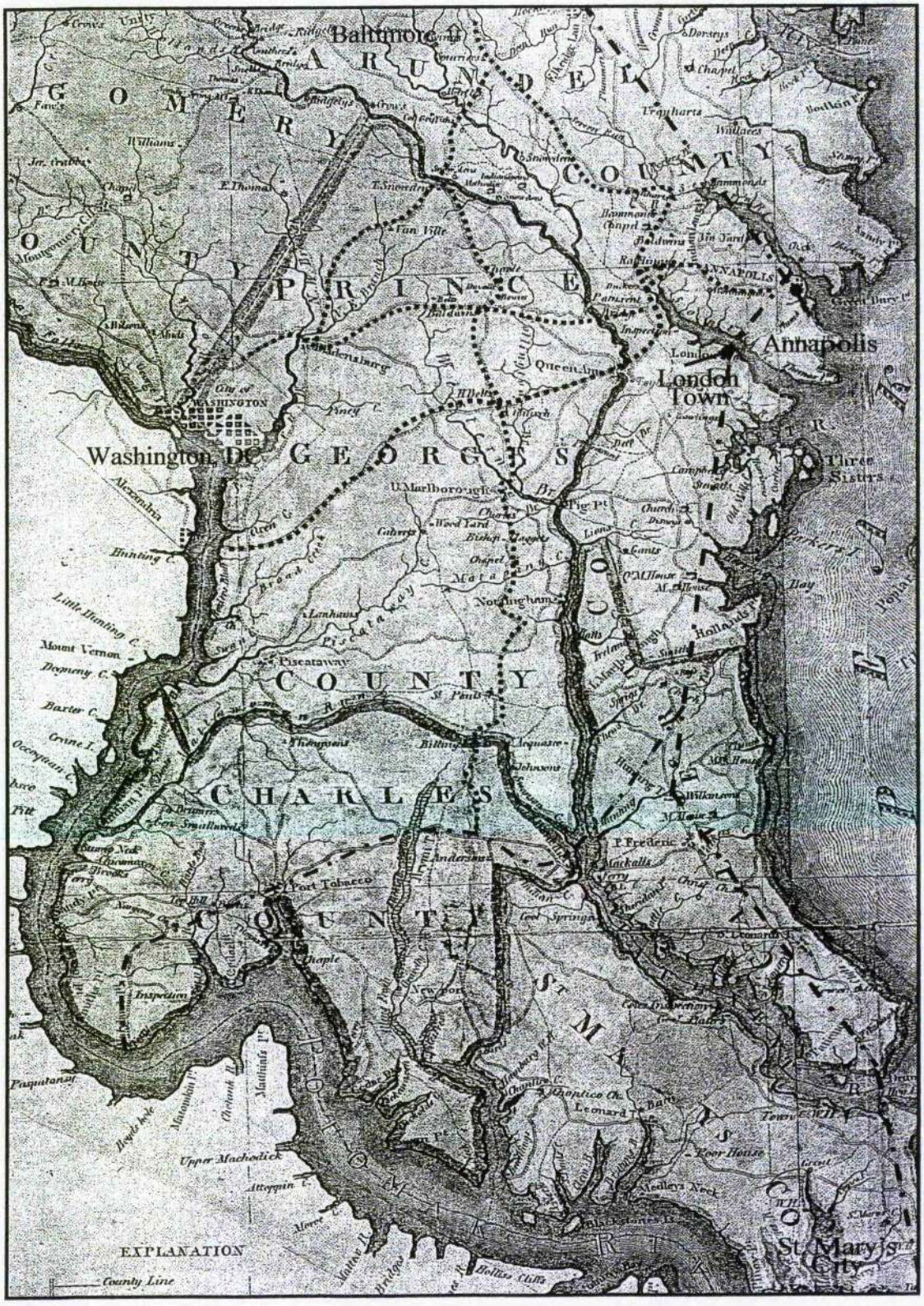
[694] Archives of Maryland, 192: 372

Figure 10.1
Maryland in 1794



Adapted from the 1794 Dennis Griffith, *Map of the State of Maryland.*

Late 17th and early 18th century route. — · — ·

Late 18th and 19th century routes. .....

almshouse complex. Therefore, London Town cannot be considered a commercial port after 1800 or a "town" after 1830. After the American Revolution, the forces of the mercantile system such as the Board of Trade no longer protected trading ports like London Town and economic factors such as location and access to goods favored Baltimore.

EPILOGUE

This study of London Town shows that the settlement had, at first, a cosmopolitan feel, if not a great potential for growth when compared to its immediate and very rural surroundings. This is evident from the artifact assemblage as well as the historical records. This research shows that London Town was not a traditional settlement or what is generally accepted as a "town." It was in fact a commercial center with a specific activity: exporting tobacco. When Maryland's economic system, formally dependent on the tobacco trade, began to evolve into a more diversified system, London Town failed to endure such change. Its residents were primarily merchants involved in the tobacco trade and when that stimulus was removed, the town did not have sufficient means to survive. The absentee landowners focused too much of their attention on one commodity, which was their downfall. The town was erected for one purpose and when its purpose was gone, it languished and eventually disappeared. Many have said the Town Acts failed to establish long lasting settlements, and that is true. However, the main goal of these acts was to stimulate trade throughout the colony and such legislation was constructed with the mercantile system in mind. Towns such as London Town did flourish under the system for which they were developed but when that system was removed by the American Revolution they failed and

disappeared.

It is hoped that the data recovered and analyzed for this study will stimulate additional research regarding the tobacco towns of colonial Maryland and the Chesapeake region. This case study provides comparative data for use in the study of Maryland's other "lost towns." Further archaeological excavations of London Town will likely reveal elements of the town's past documented in this research and provide answers to questions not addressed herein.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1: PORT OF ANNAPOLIS SHIPPING RECORDS

Port of Annapolis Shipping Records

Entered Inwards	Cleared Outwards
5 January to 5 April 1754	5 January to 5 April 1754
5 April to 5 July 1754	10 October to 5 January 1754
10 October to 5 January 1754	5 January to 5 April 1755
10 October to 5 January 1756	10 October to 5 January 1756
5 January to 5 April 1757	5 January to 5 April 1757
5 April to 5 July 1757	5 April to 10 July 1757
5 July to 5 October 1757	5 July to 10 October 1757
10 October to 5 January 1757	10 October to 5 January 1757
5 January to 5 April 1758	
5 July to 10 October 1758	
10 October to January 5 1758	
5 April to 5 July 1759	
5 July to 10 October 1759	
10 October to 5 January 1759	
5 Jan to 5 April 1760	
5 July to October 1760	
5 January to 5 April 1761	

Port of Annapolis Shipping Records Pertaining to London Town

Entered Inwards	Cleared Outwards
5 April to 5 July 1754	5 July to 10 October 1757
5 April to 5 July 1757	
5 January to 5 April 1758	
5 July to 10 October 1759	

Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745-1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557-1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

APPENDIX 2: MARYLAND COUNTIES

The Creation of Maryland Counties

Maryland County	Year Founded	Original or Created from…
St. Mary's	1637	Original
Kent	1642	Original
Anne Arundel	1650	Original
Calvert	1654	Original
Charles	1658	Original
Baltimore	1660	Anne Arundel County
Talbot	1662	Original
Somerset	1666	Original
Cecil	1674	Baltimore and Kent Counties
Prince George's	1695	Calvert and Charles Counties
Dorchester	1699	Somerset and Talbot Counties
Queen Anne's	1706	Dorchester, Kent and Talbot Counties
Worcester	1742	Somerset County
Frederick	1748	Baltimore and Prince George's Counties
Harford	1773	Baltimore County
Caroline	1773	Dorchester and Queen Anne's Counties
Montgomery	1776	Frederick County
Washington	1776	Frederick County
Allegheny	1789	Washington County
Carroll	1837	Frederick Counties
Howard	1851	Anne Arundel County
Baltimore City	1851	Baltimore County
Wicomico	1867	Somerset and Worcester Counties
Garrett	1872	Allegheny County

Source: Maryland State Archives, *Maryland County Information*, ww.mdarchives.state.md.us (2003)

APPENDIX 3: GLOSSARY[695]

To follow is a glossary of particular words and terms including terminology relating to foreign textiles imported to London Town during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with descriptions of production methods and locations. The textiles come from probate inventories and newspaper advertisements of London Town residents. The excepted origin or likely manufactory center associated with the textile can be found in parenthesis. Alternative spellings or synonyms are in italic.

Bandanna- a washing silk handkerchief that originated in India. This came in yellow or red. Patterns of diamonds and other geometric shapes are produced by tying knots in the fabric or by applying a template with pressure thus keeping the dye from coloring all the fabric. (India)

Barley Corn- any fabrics woven with a small barleycorn design usually fine worsted cloths.

Bearskin- a coarse durable woolen cloth with a shaggy nap used for overcoats, outerwear, blankets, and rugs. Used for servant and slave clothing. *Also known as Dreadnaught and Fearnaught.* (Witney, Oxfordshire, England)

Binding- fabric tape or braid used to trim fabric usually, furniture and bedding. It was used as a protective covering for the raw edges of fabric.

Bombazine- made from silk and worsted wool in a twill weave. Very popular in seventeenth century and used for mourning cloths and other clothing. *Also known as Bombazeen.* (Norwick, England)

Broadcloth- made of carded wool in plain weave and fulled after weaving; colors black red, brown, and white. (West England and Yorkshire)

Buckram- a coarse fabric made of hemp, gummed and dyed many different colors use to provide shape in garments.

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[695] The textile descriptions are from an encyclopedic work by Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America 1650-1870* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984). This work has thirty-two pages of color plates depicting colonial period textiles collected from archives all over Europe as well as a comprehensive dictionary describing the fabric, its fiber content, its use, and the geographic area of production. Supplementary information on fabric terms and antiquated words from *The Compact Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd. Edition (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1999). Supplementary information on ceramic terms from Ivor Noel Hume, *A Guide of Artifacts of Colonial America.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969).

Bunting- narrow fabric made of long staple, coarse English wool in an open and plain weave. Used to make ship's flags.

Calico- originally from India this cotton cloth had many different multicolored patterns, as well as white. During the seventeenth century the fabric would have come from India during the eighteenth century there was a stop to the importation as it was hurting English fabric manufacturers. By 1774, Calico was manufactures in Hargreaves, Arkwrigth, and Crompton, England.

Cadastral- Reference to the extent, value, and ownership of landed property, a measurement of a plot of land used in public register such as for taxes or for conveyance.

Cambric- fine white linen cloth in a plain weave could be used to make handkerchiefs and aprons. (Ireland and France; Fr. batiste)

Canvas, Duck- very coarse hemp cloth very tightly woven, thus very strong used for making ship's sails.

Canvas, Sheeting - a coarse cloth of hemp, unbleached which served to make towels and other utilitarian materials.

Cheney- worsted furnishing material usually dyed red, green, blue, yellow, or purple sometimes watered. Used for curtains and chair coverings.

Chintz- a cotton material used for clothing and furniture usually with printed patterns.

Coating- thick, heavy woolen clothing with a long nap used for outerwear and blankets.

Cord- stout, heavy woolen, or cotton and woolen fabric woven with a raised cord or ridge running in the warp with a plied surface. *Also known as Queen Cord and Corduroy.*

Cottanee- a fabric made of silk and cotton with a satin weave. This came in stripes and floral patterns and was used for upholstery and quilts. *Also known as Cuttance.* (India)

Counterpane- cotton woven bedcover usually all white with geometric figures in a loop pile technique, usually with fringe. *Also known as Bolton Coverlet or Quilt.*

Crape- light transparent stuff, gauzelike made of raw silk often made stiff. Sometimes the silk was mixed with worsted wool. Used in dressmaking and for mourning clothes.

Delegate- an elected representative sent to a legislative assembly for either the local, state or national body (i.e. the Maryland House of Representatives, or

the United States House of Representatives are manned by delegates from their region.)

Denim- strong, stout twilled cotton cloth usually blue or brown sometimes striped.

Diaper- linen fabric (sometime woven with cotton), twill weave that has a distinct pattern with lines crossing to form diamonds. Used for tablecloth, napkins, and tea cupboard cloths, curtains and other household applications. (Ypres, Flanders)

Dowlas- coarse linen, inexpensive used for sheets, pillowcases, as well as coarse clothing (Brittany)

Drab- thick stout, closely woven over-coating which was heavy and expensive.

Duffel- heavy napped woolen utilitarian cloth used for overcoats and seaman's garments. Came in blue, red, and green.

Duroy- lightweight worsted material used in men's clothing. (London, Norwich, West Riding, England)

Everlasting- stout, closely woven worsted stuff usually black and used for women's shoes. Sometimes woven with a double tweed with a small diamond pattern. *Also known as Lasting.*

Factor-One who buys or sells for another person; a mercantile agent; a commission merchant.

Factorage- The action or professional service of a factor; the action of buying or selling (goods) on commission. Commission or percentage paid to a factor on goods purchase or sold by him.

Fearnothing- a thick cloth with long pile used for outerwear, trousers, and slave clothing. *Also know as Fearnaught and Dreadnought.*

Flannel- made of woolen yarn with and open texture.

Fulling- process of cleaning and shrinking woven wool cloth usually done at a Fulling Mill by a Fuller with wooden paddles used to beat the fabric. Depending on the sophistication of the mill, rollers and stones were used to smooth the fabric and clay was use to remove oils for woolens.

Fustian- a vague term referring to a large group of linen and cotton fabrics. Occurred as a coarse sturdy cloth made from cotton and flax. In the colonies, the fabrics were used for curtains, furniture, and sometimes petticoats. (Lancashire, England)

Garlix- fine white Linen "Holland" shirting material usually for men's shirts. High quality linen was sent to Holland for bleaching. *Also known as Garlick, Gulick, or Gulix.*

Gingham- a fabric of cotton and silk that originated in India traditionally found in stripes and checks, a hearty fabric. (India)

Green Rug- coarse wool clothe with a shagged or frizzed finished used for garments by the poorer classes and as bed covering. *Also known as Rugg.*

Guild- a confraternity, brotherhood, or association formed for the mutual aid and protection of its members. An incorporated society of the merchants of a town or city, having exclusive rights of trading within the town; mediaeval in origin.

Guineas- inexpensive, brightly colored Indian cotton that came in stripes or checks and was usually used for slave clothing. *Also known as Guineas Stuff and Guinea Cloth.*

Haircloth- made of long mane and tail hair of horses on linen, cotton or woolen warp and used for sacks sieves, to stiffen clothing and for upholstery.

Half Thicks- coarse woolen cloth, similar to Duffels. *Also know as Yorkshire Cloths.* (Yorkshire, England)

Hogshead (or Hhds)- A large cask for liquids, etc; one of a definite capacity, which varied for different liquids and commodities. Also locally known (Chesapeake region) as a large wooden cask used to transport dry goods such as tobacco.

Holland Linen Cloth- linen cloth, of fine quality. Could be made outside Holland but was in most cases was sent to Holland for bleaching. (Holland)

Hunkaback- linen-based fabric woven with a pattern usually diamonds, that were implemented to make the fabric absorbent. Used for napkins, tablecloths, and towels. (Liverpool, England)

Jean- a fabric made from cotton and linen with a twilled weave. Jean is in the Fustian family. Used for lighter clothes, pants, and waistcoats. This came in white and many they colors as well as stripes. *Also known as Jane or Jeans.* (Ulm and Genoa, Italy)

Keel- the lowest longitudinal timber of a ship or boat, on which the framework of the whole is built up; in boats and small vessels forming a prominent central ridge on the undersurface.

Kendal- coarse woolen clothe either frizzed or plain used for outerwear traditionally green in color made for very coarse wool. *Also know was Kendel Green or Kendel Cottons.* (Westmoreland and Kent, England)

Kersey- an inexpensive coarse woolen cloth of twill weave. Use for outer garments such as coats and military garb. (Yorkshire, East Anglia)

Linen- a cloth made from processed flax fibers. This fabric came in many different grades and weights. Some fine linen fabrics are Damask, Diaper, Lawn, and Garlix these were traditionally used for clothing table linens, handkerchiefs, aprons, and towels. A coarse middleweight linen is Ozanbrigs that was used for outer-clothes or clothing of a coarser sort. Also, middleweight linen was Ticking used for bedding and other utilitarian uses. The heaviest type is linen is Canvas. This also came in many different utilitarian styles but was most traditionally used for making ship's sails. (Holland, France, and Ireland)

Linsey-woolsey- Fabric made of wool and flax threads; a course (usually home spun) outerwear dress-making material.

Mohair- cloth made from the wool of the Angora goat used for clothing and upholstery.

Muslin- very fine cotton fabric. Before 1779, it came from India, after it was made in England and Scotland. Used for curtains and clothing.

North Devon Gravel-tempered Ware- a ceramic that consist of red clays mixed with small gravel or flecks of stone, is from the region of Southwest England bordering on the English Channel. This is a utilitarian vessel type: storage jars and jugs, milk pans, etc. Usually plain in decoration with a clear lead glaze.

Norwich Stuffs- this is a general term for worsted (woolen) fabrics manufacture in East Anglia also known as Norwick Stuffs, Camlets, Camleteens, Damasks, Calimancoes. (Northamptionshire, Norwich, England)

Ordinary- in parts of the United States, as Virginia [and Maryland]; A tavern or inn of any kind. More specifically in Britain, a eating-house or tavern where public meals are provided at a fixed price; a dining room in such a building; a public meal regularly provided at a fixed price in an eating-house or tavern.

Osnaburg- coarse and unbleached cloth made from either linen or hemp. Originated in Osnebruck, Germany. Commonly used for trousers, sacking, bagging and often the material of slave clothing. *Also known as Oznabrig.*

Persian- thin, plain silk used for lining coats, petticoats, and gowns. (East Indian)

Poplin- lightweight dress goods made from wool and silk used for fine women's gowns and dresses. (France and Dublin, Ireland)

Sagathy- slight woolen stuff of twill weave sometimes mixed with silk used for waistcoats and other clothing.

Sarcenet- thin transparent silk of plain weave used for lady's dresses and handkerchiefs.

Seersucker- striped fabric made of cotton and silk produced in India. This was used for medium weight clothing and curtains depending on its weave and weight. (India)

Shag- a heavy worsted material, with a long nap (thus shaggy) used to make waistcoats, and outer-garments. This material was available in many colors during the eighteenth century.

Shagreen- a spotted silk taffeta made in all colors, especially black, with a pebble surface, used for lining clothes.

Shalloon- inexpensive twilled worsted. This fabric is considered a light stuff. Very popular colonial import used for lining clothes. (Yorkshire via Bristol)

Specie- The actual form of pieces if minted metal; coins.

Spitalfields- an important center in the seventeenth century for the production of silk, located outside London, England.

Supercargo- an officer on board a merchant ship whose business it is to superintend the cargo and the commercial transactions of the voyage. Often one in the same with the captain of the vessel.

Tabby- a plain silk stronger and thicker than taffeta, woven with a plain weave, found in many colors.

Tammy- a strong lightweight worsted of plain wave and open texture, often glazed to make a shiny surface. Sometimes wool was mixed with cotton or silk. Used for bedding, window treatments, dresses, petticoats, and coat lining. This came in many colors green, yellow, brown, black, red, and blue as well as stripes. *Also known as Tammies.* (Yorkshire, England and Amiens, France)

Ticking- linen twill, mostly a utilitarian fabric used for coarse artisan aprons, feather mattress cases, bolsters and pillows (bed ticking). In the late eighteenth century they could be found in blue, white, tan and white striped. The variety of Superfine Ticking was used to line clothing.

Tin-glazed Earthenware, (English delftware)- a ceramic that has a very pale white to buff body and a tin oxide glaze, which is white. The ceramic is fired once and then decorated, usually with cobalt blue designs and re-fired. Also called "faience" by the French. Its decorations are usually composed with blue (cobalt oxide) or polychrome (magnesium, copper, etc. oxides or sulfides). Early delft was an attempt to replicate the appearance of Chinese porcelain and often had chinoiserie designs.

Turkey Work- a woolen pile fabric made to imitate Turkish carpets. The base was a sturdy hemp cloth to which multi-colored worsted yarns were tied by hand. Used for upholstery. *Also knows as Turkey Worked or Norwick*

work. (England)

Twill- a weaving process that produces a diagonal pattern in the finished clothe. The cloth does not have a smooth flat surface.

Westerwald- a type of ceramic that is hard and densely fired, a "salt-glazed stoneware" that was produced in part of Germany called the Westerwaldkreis,or the Kannenbäckerland" (Country of the Potters). The vessels are usually gray stoneware with incised, stamped, sprigged and cobalt-painted decoration.

Woolen- cloth made of carded short-staple wool fibers, after weaving, the cloth was fulled or shrunk it make it denser and heavier.

Worsted- lightweight cloth made of long-staple combed wool yarn. There many types of worsted fabric. (Worsted, Norwich, England)

APPENDIX 4: LONDON TOWN SHIPPING 1709-1775

London Town Resident	Voyage Year and Vessel Name	
Captain Anthony Beck	1735	*London Town*
ditto	1746	*Hopewell*
ditto	1747	*Frances & Elizabeth*
ditto	1748	*Frances & Elizabeth*
Captain Joseph Cowman	1722	*Champion*
Captain John Dixon	1737	*Charming Suckey*
ditto	1739	*Tottenham*
ditto	1740	*Sea Flower*
ditto	1742	*Milnor*
ditto	1743	*Milnor*
ditto	1757	*Peter*
Captain John Fish	1709	*Bachelor*
Captain Christopher Grindall	1731	*Three Sisters*
ditto	1739	*Three Sisters*
ditto	1741	*Neptune*
Captain Richard Jones	1730	*William & Jane*
Captain Alexander Scougall	1730	*London Town*
ditto	1734	*Frederick*
ditto	1735	*Frederick*
ditto	1745	*Bladen*
ditto	1746	*Mary*
ditto	1747	*Annapolis*
ditto	1749	*Eliza*
ditto	1750	*Elizabeth*
ditto	1758	*Nancy*
ditto	1759	*Nancy*
ditto	1760	*Annapolis*
ditto	1769	*Horatio*
Captain William Strachan	1745	*William & Ann*
ditto	1746	*Rumney & Long*
ditto	1747	*Rumney & Long*
ditto	1748	*William*
ditto	1749	*Hopewell*
ditto	1750	*Hopewell*
ditto	1750	*Moses & Rebecca*
ditto	1752	*Nancy*
ditto	1753	*Nancy*
ditto	1757	*Lyon*
ditto	1758	*Betsey*
ditto	1759	*Betsey*
ditto	1760	*Betsey*
Captain Patrick Sympson	1730	*Maryland Merchant*
ditto	1734	*Somerset*
Merchant William Black	1744	*Neptune*
ditto	1746	*Winchester*
Merchant William Chapman	1754	*Enterprise*
Merchant James Dick	1760	*Annapolis*

ditto	1760	*Molly*
ditto	1773	*Peggy Stewart*
ditto	1775	*Mulberry*
Merchant Samuel Galloway (of West River)	1749	*Experiment*
ditto	1750	*Guyles*
ditto	1751	*Allen*
ditto	1751	*Grove*
ditto	1751	*Snowden*
ditto	1752	*Endeavor*
ditto	1755	*Nancy*
ditto	1756	*Swan*
ditto	1757	*Baltimore*
ditto	1757	*Grove*
ditto	1757	*Two Sisters*
ditto	1757	*West River*
ditto	1759	*Dragon*
ditto	1761	*Jenny*
ditto	1761	*The Little Bob*
ditto	1761	*Tulip*
ditto	1762	*Betsey*
ditto	1762	*Polly*
ditto	1764	*George*
ditto	1765	*Charles*
ditto	1766	*Stephen*
ditto	1767	*Dolly*
ditto	1772	*Sally*
Merchant Richard Hill	1748	*Elizabeth*
Merchant Anthony McCulloch	1753	*Hester*
Merchant William Nicholson	1731	*Annapolis Adventure*
Merchant Samuel Peele	1733	*Contrivance*
ditto	1733	*Dolphin*
ditto	1733	*Fancy*
ditto	1734	*Hannah*
Merchant Anthony Stewart	1775	*Mulberry*
Merchant Stephen West, Jr.	1770	*Adventure*

APPENDIX 5: PROBATE INVENTORY OF LONDON TOWN MERCHANT SAMUEL PEELE

An Inventory of the goods and Merchandise of Mr. Samuel Peel late of Anne Arundel County aforesaid Merchant deceased Remaining in the deceased Store Houses being part of his personal estate the same being duly appraised by us the subscribers being first duly appointed and sworn and affirmed for that purpose which said goods and merchandise by us appraised by us as follows viz.[696]

Linen & etc	
8 piece Bro. Zen qts. 106: 102:103:109:102:80:68:101	£.d.p
and 80 Ells in all is 8'51 Ells …	39.0.3
1 piece Rusha Duck qt. 3 yards and ditto remnants	
al qt. 104 yards @ 18 d per	10.0.4
1 piece Harrow Canvas	1.6.3
21 1/2 Ells ditto remnants @ 21 d	1.0.0
1 piece Bor. Bowles qt. 34 Ells @ 7 d	0.19.10
51 3/4 Ells ditto in remnants @ 6 1/2	1.11.0
19 Ells broad Hammers @ 11d	0.17.5
3 piece Bleu Ozenbr. qt 23:21:22 1/4 in all is	
66 3/4 Ells @ 10 1/2 (rest illegible)	3.8.3
1 piece Broad Blue qt 21 yards 4 1/2 yards ditto in	
remnants @ 20 d	2.2.1
3 pieces White Ozenbr. qt 74 Ells 32 Ells ditto remnants @ 12 d	5.6.6
3 pieces Narrow Checks qt 98 1/2 Ells @ 15d	5.11.10 ½
3 pieces Broad ditto qt. 96 Ells @ 20 d	8.0.0
23 Ells Narrow ditto & 2 3/4 Ells Broad ditto	
some damaged @ 12d	1.5.9
1 piece 7/8 Cotton Checks qt 31 1/2 Ells @ 21 d	2.15.17
57 1/2 Ells ditto @ 18d	4.5.5
3 pieces Course Dowlas @ 30	4.10.0
22 Ells ditto @ 18d	1.13.0
2 piece very course Linnen qt 41 yards each @ 10 d per yard	3.8.4
1 piece Bro Irish Sheeting 39 3/4 Ells 18 d	2.19.10
18 1/2 yards ditto 18 d	1.7.9
31 1/2 yards White ditto @ 21 d per yard	2.15.17
2 piece Irish Shirting @ 57 / each	5.14.0
19 yards ditto at 18 d	1.8.6
1 piece Scotch Cloth @	0.18.0
1 piece Narrow Garlic	1.13.0
15 Ells ditto @ 18 d	1.2.8
19 3/4 Ells Broad ditto @ 2/3	2.2.4
1 piece Bagg Holland qt. 13 Ells & 4 1/2 Ells ditto @ 6/	5.5.0
1 piece sheeting Holland qt 43 1/4 Ells A 4/6	9.14.1
17 yards dyed Linnen @ 15 d	1.1.3
4 piece Damstise qt. 38 yards @ 3	5.14.0
15 yards ditto Damd. @ 18d	1.2.6

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13 3/4 yards Narrow Diaper @ 12d	0.13.9
14 pieces striped Holland 15 yards each at 37/6	26.5.0
10 pieces ditto Damd. 15 yards ditto at 25/	12.10.0
55 yards ditto in remnants 18d yards	4.2.6
17 pieces calico	34.7.0
126 yards ditto in remnants @ 2/6 yard	15.15.0
8 pieces India Chince @ 19 d per	7.12.0
19 1/2/ yards ditto @ 18d	1.9.3
2 pieces ditto Very Course	1.4.0
2 pieces course White Gdansk qt. 17 1/2 yards each	1.17.6
33 3/4 yards ditto @ 13d	1.16.6
26 yards Muslin @ 3/	3.18.0
8 1/2 ? fine Kenting	29.5.0
4 pieces Course ditto 13/4 per	2.13.4
5 1/2 yards Cambric 10/yard	2.12.6
1 piece & 1/3 of a piece fine Cambric	4.1.4
2 remnants Lane (?Lace) qt. 13 yards	2.16.0
2 bed ticks and one bolster	4.0.0
4 pieces Chalys 13/6 per	2.14.0
7 1/2 yards ditto 16d	0.10.0
3 pieces fine white Baslers 39 per	5.17.0
3 pieces cotton handkerchiefs @ 16/6	2.9.0
9 ditto handkerchiefs 16d	0.12.0
19 silk Reinalls ditto 2/	1.18.0
17 Suscy handkerchiefs @ 2/3	1.18.3
13 best India ditto @ 3/4	2.3.4
2 Ordinary ditto @ 2/	0.4.0
4 1/3 Dozen of English ditto	6.0.0
4 1/2 yards course Himming 22d	0.8.3
Stuffs & ca.	
3 pieces Cantalone qt. 181 yards @ 6d	4.10.6
38 yards ditto in remnants 6 d	0.19.0
2 pieces and 3 yards plasing qt 30 yards 3/6	5.5.0
4 pieces yard Wide Stuff 45/	9.0.0
52 yards Narrow ditto in Remnants @ 10d	2.3.4
172 yards wide in ditto 16d	1.3.4
16 yards White Tamrin 16d	1.1.4
75 yards Callimanco 18d	5.12.6
27 yards Poplin 18d	2.0.6
29 1/2 yards course check stuff 9d	1.1.11
2 (W?) Whoods and Cloaks	3.10.0
1 pieces Duffell Moth Eaten qt. 19 1/2 yards @ 2/ yards	3.18.0
42 yards ditto goods @ 6/yards	12.12.0
4 piece White Flannel qt. 336 yards	18.15.8
52 yards ditto dams @ 20 d	4.6.8
3 pieces Stripped Flannel qt. 93 yards @ 19d	7.7.3
27 yards ditto Moth Eaten @ 12 d	1.7.0
1 piece Fearnothing qt. 31 yards @ 2/6	3.17.6
2 piece Drizett qt. 82 1/2 yards & 74 yards ditto in remnants 2/6	19.11.3
6 yards Red Duffell @ 8/	2.8.0

3 pieces Duroys @ 30/	4.10.0
2 pieces Sagathy 48/	4.16.0
3 pieces Shalloone qt. 90 yards 45/	6.15.0
123 yard ditto remnants @ 18d yard	9.4.6
18 1/4 yards Deuroys @ 16 yards	1.4.4
4 yards silk Camblet @ 2/6	0.10.0
19 1/4 yards Sagath @ 20d	1.11.8
7 yards Black Shalloone @ 18d	0.10.6
28 3/4 yard Crape Moth Eaten @ 12 d	1.8.9
1 piece Course Broad Cloth qt 24 yards at 5/6	6.12.0
1 piece Devonshire Kersey Moth Eaten 32 yards 3/6	4.17.6
2 1/2 yards fine Drab @ 22/8	2.16.8
4 yards fine Shallone 22d	0.7.4
6 yards fine cloth 22/8d	6.16.0
3 yards ditto Drab. 10/6	1.11.6
4 yards ditto, ditto 26/8	4.16.8
3 1/2 yards ditto, ditto 18/8	3.5.4
3 1/2 yards ditto, ditto 13/4	2.3.4
27 yards Shallone 2/2	2.18.6
1 piece course Bleu Duffell qt. 44 yards 3/	6.12.0
6 pieces Kendell Cotton @ 17/per	5.2.0
3 pieces Welsh ditto qt 250 yards @ 20 d yard	20.16.8
14 yards ditto remnants @ 12d	0.14.0
4 pieces Course Kersey @ 40/	8.0.0
10 yards ditto @ 3/	1.10.0
2 pieces red half think qt 55 yards @ 22d	5.0.10
16 yards ditto and 7 yards Penistone @ 19d	1.16.5
11 1/2 yards Shagg @ 3/	1.14.6
1 piece Blue half think qt. 32 1/2 yards 21d yard	1.11.02
25 yards ditto 18d	1.17.6
12 yards Fearnothing @ 2/6	1.10.0
1 piece Stripped Bowles qt. 24 yards & 33 yards ditto 20 d	4.15.0
1 piece (cold) Cold Fustian	2.5.0
31 3/4 yards ditto 12d	1.11.9
2 pieces White Dimothy 22/6 per	2.5.0
5 yards ditto	0.5.0
Gloves & ect	
2 dozen 3 pair men's wash gloves @ 16d	1.16.0
1 dozen inseamed ditto @ 18d	0.18.0
2 dozen 1 pair women's Cold Lamb @ 18d	1.17.6
2 dozen 11 pair women's Wash Gloves @ 18d	2.12.6
1 dozen 1 pair Women's Lamb Mittens 18 d	0.19.6
5 pair Woman's Shamey Gloves 18d	0.7.6
5 pair men's Cold Wash 16d	0.6.8
5 dozen 11 pair boys wash gloves 6d	1.15.6
1 dozen 1 pair girls lambs ditto 7d	0.7.7
1 dozen pair ditto mittens 6d	0.7.6
5 dozen pair women's cotton and thread gloves 20d	5.3.4
2 dozen white wash ditto 18d	1.16.0
2 dozen men's ditto 16d	1.12.0

11 men's Ozebbrig jackets 2 Women's ditto 2 pair hovers 5 pairs Spatteredashes 7 men's duffell coats 6 men's Jackets moth eaten 10 pair breeches @ 11 men's Kersey Coats Moth Eaten	3.0.0
4 pair men's leather breeches 10/	2.0.0
6 men's ticking waistcoats & 9 pair ditto breeches	4.11.0
4 men's suits of clothes @ 40/	8.0.0
2 ditto Fustian Frocks @	1.10.0
1 ditto Duroy Coat and Breeches damaged	0.15.0
1 Women's night gound	0.18.0
Persian Silk & etc	
4 Red Leather Trunks	0.16.0
45 yards India Persian	7.17.6
1 pieces Checkneese qt 8 yards @ 2/4	0.18.8
1 piece Cuttencas qt. 15 yards & 1 1/2 yards ditto 3/	2.9.6
3 pieces silk Burdett qt. 8 yards and 3 1/2 yards ditto @ 2/3	9.0.8
5 yards Leapease 2/4	0.11.8
1 piece Seersucker qt. 12 1/2/ yards 15 1/2 yards ditto remnants 2/4	3.5.4
6 1/2 yards striped cotton & Gingham 18d	0.9.9
42 yards striped and flowered silk 3/6	7.7.0
346 yards Persian Silk 2/	34.12.0
160 yards Sarsnett 2/6	20.0.0
27 1/2 yards Black Shagreen 2/8	3.12.8
16 3/4 yards stripped silk 2/2	1.16.3
Stockings & etc	
13 pair Men's Worsted hose @ 5/ pair	3.5.0
22 pair Small Boys Course ditto 1/8	1.16.8
26 pair women clocked ditto 2/8	3.9.4
17 pair girls ditto moth eaten 16d	1.2.3
7 pair children yarn hose 8d	0.4.8
3 pair children yarn gloves 12d	0.3.0
11 pair men's black silk hose 18/8	9.3.4
10 pair ditto white ditto 1 pair damaged 13/p	5.10.0
2 dozen 7 pair men wove thread hose 3/9	5.16.3
2 pair women ditto with worsted clocks & dams 2/6	0.5.0
6 pair women's thread 2/	0.12.0
8 pair boys ditto 18d	0.12.0
1 pair men's cold thread 2/6	0.2.6
6 men's cotton caps 2/	0.12.0
13 dozen single silk caps 7/	4.11.0
16 pair women silk gloves 4/4/	3.9.4
8 dozen (no?) of pinns 11 dozen	4.8.0
Button & Mohair	
33 Gross 10 dozen coat and breast buttons; 17 gross doz. mat & ticking 3/gross	7.15.3
4 dozen coat mettle buttons, 19 dozen ditto horn, 21 dozen ditto breast ditto, 5/gross	0.18.6
17 (?) mohair moth eaten 2/6	2.2.6
10 glass headed sticks 12	0.10.0

26 wood headed canes 4/	5.4.0
1 ivory ditto	0.6.0
7 boys ditto	0.7.0
18 looking glasses @ 17d	1.5.6
20 Trading Guns 10/	10.0.0
22 Sack bags 4/ 4.8.0	
Stationary & ca.	
5 dozen 5 papers of ink powder 6/ dozen	1.12.6
7 dozen ten packs of playing cards 4/ dozen	1.10.8
5 letter cases 2/	0.10.0
1 dozen qt. 3 Quires	0.6.0
3 Reams of paper 11/9	1.19.9
2 ditto fine cut ditto 15/	1.20.0
5 gilt Bibles	1.0.0
1 plain ditto 3/	0.3.0
6 qt. of large paper 14d	0.7.6
20 Testaments @ 16	1.6.8
10 Accidence @ 16d	0.13.4
9 salters 9d	0.6.9
4 common prayer books 2/6	0.10.0
2 the whole (?) of man	0.6.8
8 pockets books 9d	0.13.6
5 primers and 8 horn books	0.2.2
3 pewter ink holders	0.2.0
3 black lead pencils	0.0.6
8 letter files 14d	0.9.4
15 1/2 Gross Pipes 2/ gro.	1.11.0
Haberdashery of Small Wares	
83 of Cold & Bro Thread @ 2/?	10.7.6
45 3/4 Whiled Bro ditto @ 4/4	9.18.9
2 cotton ? 6 d & 12 d thread and 1 oz 2	4.0.6
5 dozen and 3 ferrett laces 3/ dozen	0.15.0
16 black hat garters and buckles @ 9 d	0.12.0
32 pieces bobbing	0.7.9
6 dozen 10 silk laces 7/	2.7.9
7 dozen 7 pieces Holland tape 9/	3.7.7
20 pieces Diaper tape 12d	0.16.8
51 pair silk garters @ 9d	1.18.9
3 oz 903 sowing silk 27/	4.16.0
2 dozen & 2 pieces Gartering & 21 yards remnants @ 17/doz	1.18.3
1 oz Mohair 12/	0.12.0
2 oz barbers weaving silk	0.6.6
53 Howls sliver thread	3.10.8
50 Spaice Sashes for horse whips	0.16.8
15 silk wig call 5d	0.6.0
6 pieces of wig ribbon @ 18 1/4 yards of ditto at 11/4 per	3.13.8
5 Spring purses @ 6	0.2.6
7 dozen silver twist breast buttons damaged	0.14.6
7 child's housewives	0.1.9
1 dozen short silk purses	0.8.0

3 dozen and 8 silk watch strings	1.10.0
51 1/2 yards saddlers worsted 9d per yard	1.18.7
2 pieces Red binding for duffell	0.10.0
12 boxes locker pills 2/	1.4.0
54 pieces broad and narrow silk forrett 5/7	15.1.6
8 pieces Cadis 2/7	1.0.8
73 pieces Broad and narrow ribbon & 16 yards ditto 13/per	47.15.0
4 dozen 9 horn combs 2/	0.9.6
5 dozen 9 large and small Ivory combs 9/	2.8.9
1 piece and 2 yard sliver ribbon	0.16.0
3 dozen cut buttons	0.6.0
4 Gro. Shirt buttons 3/	10.12.0
1 Gross and 3 dozen brass thimbles	1.2.6
26 pairs women's black and white necklace	0.2.0
2 dozen and 7 fans	2.6.0
1 women mask	0.2.1
4 women and men velvet caps	4.0.0
52 black silk bags for wigs 9d	1.19.0
1 pair glove stretcher	0.1.0
2 women's headdresses soyled 4 head bowles	1.10.6
2 dozen short aprons damaged 10/	1.0.0
28 pair women stays some damaged 11/pair	15.8.0
12 pair Women's Punay on bodeys damaged 7/6	4.10.0
1 pair ditto girls ditto 5/	0.5.0
4 pair children canvas bodeys 4/	0.4.0
4 women's 4 girls hoop coats	2.0.0
132 oz twine q5d	8.5.0
51 oz shoemaker thread 18d	3.16.6
57 oz cotton wick 2/6	7.2.6
7 3/4 whale bone 5/6	2.2.2
43 cabedge nets 4d	0.14.4
Saddles & etc	
2 women's side saddles and furniture	5.10.0
2 men's saddles	4.5.0
2 dozen stirrups Leathers	1.12.0
13 ordinary snaffle bridles	1.0.7
15 broad rained ditto 2/8	2.0.0
8 curb bridles	2.5.0
4 spare furniture for women's saddles	1.0.0
2 dozen @ 10 spare snaffle bits	1.4.0
23 rope halters	0.11.6
5 1/2 dozen men's and women's whips	7.10.0
3 women's spare rains for saddles	0.8.0
34 yards (?Maire) cloth @ 2/	3.8.0
1 dozen men's swards 11 belts 8/	4.16.0
1 mans cloth Howsing trimmed with sliver moth eaten	0.12.6
Cutlery Ware	
4 dozen large and small scissors	0.12.0
3 dozen 9 Ivory knives and forks @ 16d/doz	3.0.0
2 dozen Box knives and forks4/6	0.9.0

3 dozen 11 Maple Knives and forks	0.17.9
2 dozen 3 Pomy hafted ditto 7/6	0.16.10
4 dozen and 4 Box Butcher knives 3/6	0.15.9
2 dozen Clasp knives	0.7.0
3 (?) Knitting Needles 21d	0.5.3
8 side spring Tobacco boxes	0.6.0
7 pair steel spurs 10d	0.5.10
6 pair brass ditto	0.7.6
6 dozen Tailors Thimbles	0.6.0
8 dozen Ordinary Tobacco Tongs 16d/doz	1.10.9
13 pen knives 14d	0.15.2
6 pair brass Compasses 16d	0.8.0
13 pair Carpenters ditto 3d	0.3.3
15 Sail Maker Palmes 2d	0.2.6
37 Piercer and Dowing Bits 6d	0.18.6
3 honer for razors 2/6	0.7.6
5 pair horse palemes 18d	0.7.6
1 pair marking irons 18d	0.1.6
18 stock buckles 7d	0.10.6
one pair men's bath mettle buckles	0.0.7
1 dozen women's girdle buckles	0.8.0
2 dozen sail makers needles	0.2.0
2 pair children's buckles	0.0.8
6 dozen Drum Hooks & 3 Gross 10 dozen & 1/3	
B[r?]ock hooks @ 6d dozen	1.8.0
2 cases horn halfted knives and forks	0.9.0
1 ditto Coco handled ditto	0.5.0
6 small burning glasses @ 2/7	0.15.6
11 pair heel spurrs @ 2d	0.1.10
19 watch crystals @ 4d	0.6.4
10 ditto (keys?) bags @ 6d	0.5.0
6 round sundials @ 6d	0.3.0
11 Jews Harps 2d	0.1.10
2 pair Spectacles 6d	0.1.0
14 hand Saw Best 3d	0.3.6
Linen & etc	
5 pieces Canvas qt. 212 Ells 12d per Ell	10.12.0
5 pieces Bo Ozenb. Qt. 65:58:43:60:62 is in all 368 Ells 11d	12.5.8
6 pieces Dowlas	12.3.0
3 pieces 7/8 Garlic Holland	5.14.0
6 pieces 3/4 ditto	10.16.0
4 pieces White Ozenb. Qt 31:31:30 all 122 Ells 12d	6.2.0
53 3/4 Ells White Ozenb. And (B) Rowles for (D)Raper 6d	1.6.11
842 (?lbs.) Cordage 700:1 Cable 474 ditto 2016.32/p	32.7.6
438 (lbs.?) Oakham 16/8	3.13.0
291 (lbs.?) new Bar Iron 24/	3.10.0
257 (lbs.?) Salt Peter Damaged 8d	11.18.0
36 ft. 2 in. of Blocks and (Dedliyes?) of sundry sizes 2/per ft.	3.12.2
1793 (lbs.?) Old Iron 12/6	11.4.12
Hats & etc	

47 Boys Felts @ 18d	3.10.6
22 men's ditto @ 2/	2.4.0
22 ditto lined w/ silk 18/	1.13.0
6 Straw & 6 Bermudas Hats lined w/silk	2.14.0
4 Straw hats	0.3.0
Shoes & etc	
5 dozen Men's 1dozen Women's lather heeled falls 65/per doz.	19.10.0
3 dozen women's wood 1 dozen ditto leather falls 42/doz.	8.8.0
1 dozen Red Morocco Leather Shoes 72/doz.	3.12.0
6 pair women's red Turkey ditto 5/	1.10.0
10 pair sliver laced ditto 7/6	3.15.0
12 pair ditto damaged ditto 5/	3.0.0
9 pair women's Callimanco good 4/	1.16.0
2 dozen 4 pair women's ticking damaged 3/	4.4.0
2 pair girls ditto 2/	0.4.0
5 pair women's Spanish Leather shoes 4/6	1.2.6
15 pair calves lather shoes 2/6	1.17.6
5 dozen 4 pair women's wood heeled some damaged 3/per	9.12.0
3 dozen 1 pair ditto County made 2/p	3.14.0
3 dozen 9 pair men's wood ditto 5/	11.5.0
2 pair Boys ditto 2/6	0.5.0
2 dozen pair Negroes Nailed (Palonias?) 4/6	5.8.0
6 pair ditto not nailed 3/6	1.1.0
6 pair Men's red slippers damaged 3/	0.18.0
1 pair women's ditto 2/	0.2.0
1 pair men's Cootes Damaged 5/	0.5.0
4 pair women's silk shoes damaged 5/	1.0.0
15 pair men's leather heeled falls 4/6	3.7.6
6 tugg colers damaged 3 colers and traces 2 single collers ditto damaged 9 Blind Bridles 1 pad saddle	5.14.0
Pewter, Brass & etc	
4 dozen 4 pewter plates 15/doz.	3.5.0
1 gallon 1 pottle & 4 1/2 pint pots	1.4.8
1 pint tankard	0.1.0
2 dozen pewter spoons 1 scoop ditto	0.6.6
2 shaving basins	0.6.8
10 dishes 4 basins (wt. 50lbs?) 15d	3.2.6
1 pewter colander and 1 chamber pot	0.9.0
2 copper kettles (wt. 80 lbs.?) @ 20 d	1.0.0
2 copper pots 5/4	0.10.8
1 ditto stew kettle (wt. 12 lbs.?) @ 20 d	1.0.0
1 copper sauce pan	0.12.0
1 ditto tea kettle	0.17.4
3 pepper boxes	0.2.0
5 brass skimmers	0.17.1
2 egg slices	0.1.8
4 brass knockers (wt. 18 lbs.?) 2/6	2.5.0
6 brass skillets (wt. 11 lbs. ?) 2/8	1.9.4
1 warming pan	0.12.0
3 brass candlesticks	0.6.0

Tin Ware & etc

4 Dozen 4 qt. tin sauce pans 7/doz.	1.10.4
2 dozen 9 pint ditto 4/6	0.12.9
1 flower box	0.0.4
8 fish kettles	2.1.0
7 Maple biscake pans 11d	0.6.5
4 colanders 20d	0.6.8
4 dish covers	0.7.9
4 tin candlesticks	0.6.0
2 egg slices 7 pipe cases	0.0.4
4 coffee pots	0.2.6
2 glass lanterns 1 damaged	0.10.0
3 horn ditto	0.8.0
19 Savealls	0.1.7
2 tin dripping pans	0.3.0
16 small cranes 4d	0.5.4
1 speaking trumpet	0.6.8
1 round kettle	0.3.6
2 nutmeg graters	0.0.2
30 pepper boxes 3d	0.7.6
44 milk pans	3.5.0

Iron Ware & etc

3 whip saws and handles	5.0.0
3 cross cut ditto	2.10.2
3 hand saws	0.12.0
11 drawing knives 2/	1.2.0
17 joyners hatchets 2/8	2.5.4
7 board axes and 6 adze	2.14.8
3 dozen reaping hooks	1.18.0
15 corking [irons?]	0.9.4
7 plasters and brick layers tools	0.12.0
2 coopers round shaves	0.2.8
3 horse padlocks 3/	0.3.0
1 dozen pad locks damaged	0.7.0
3 pair small new steelyards 5/	1.4.0
11 plate spring locks 1 dran ditto 6d/	0.6.0
3 dozen pair 1 pair H and H hinges 12d	1.17.0
1 dozen and 10 augers sorted	2.0.6
9 pair fire shovels and tongs 3/6	1.11.6
3 spooke shaves	0.1.6
6 brass cocks 2/3	0.13.6
3 pair Taylor's shears	0.8.8
5 house bells	1.2.8
101 Smiths files sorted 10d	4.4.2
11 pair bolts for windows shutters 20d per	0.18.4
1 pair gardener shears & 2 serapes	0.4.6
1 plate wormer damaged	0.7.6
1 box iron damaged	0.3.0
1 cutting knife damaged	0.0.9
6 gross 10 oz brass draps 3 doz. Scutchings 3/9	1.1.3

5 cooper vises	0.2.6
23 dozen and 3 staples and hasps	0.10.0
1 dozen coopers joynter irons and stocks	0.9.6
1 hand vise	0.2.6
1 dozen gimbletts	0.0.6
13 lathing hammers 5 pair marking irons 4 pair bullets moulds 1 latch	0.15.0
2 iron pestles [wt. 27 lbs.] and 1 pair bellows	0.12.6
1 iron wedge 2 pair hectors [wt. 1 lbs.]	0.5.4
2 dozen 9 beeld cards & 9 drum lines	2.15.6
15 frying pans [wt. 82 lbs.] 7d	2.7.10
9 dozen Men's coffin handles 6/8 per doz.	3.3.4
1 dozen Childers 4/	0.4.0
27 Squares 22d per doz.	0.3.11
4 flookes for harrows 2/6	0.10.0
1 pair hand iron (wt. 32 lbs.) & 10 iron skillets (wt. 52 lbs.) 4d	1.8.0
4 dozen perch lines 3/dozen	0.12.0
17 pair hinges (wt. 98 lbs.) 6d per	2.9.0
1 dozen 7 pair Dovetail hinges 4d per	0.6.4
8 chest locks 2 small spring locks 6d	0.5.0
2 dozen narrow axes 2.8	3.4.0
7 dozen carpenter compasses 3/	1.1.0
4 broad axes 3/4	0.13.4
25 cross cut saw best	0.8.4
10 pair sheet shears damaged 12d	0.10.
60 harrow teeth 5d	1.5.0
18 rings and chinches 2d	0.3.0
9 scrapers 15d	0.11.3
7 cooper adzes 2/	0.14.0
2 carpenter ditto 3/4	0.6.8
3 pair pot hooks (wt. 10 lbs.?) 6d	0.5.0
4 thumb latches 15d	0.5.0
1 dozen long latches 6d	0.6.0
6 Mo. of 5d & 6d Brads 3/8m	1.2.0
8 Mo. Tender hooks 3/	1.4.0
1500 dog nails (wt 20 lbs.?) @ 5d	0.8.6
9 Mo. Tacks & 10 Mo. 2d nails 18d	1.8.6
1 Mo. 4d nails	0.2.8
3 Gouges and 3 fermers	0.7.6
4 house glasses 1 rimb lock 1 stock lock & 7 old locks	0.10.6
1 pull-up lock broke	0.5.0
5 Whetstones and 9 rag stones	0.3.0
1 Mo. Led nails	0.2.3
7 iron pots (wt. 195 lbs.) 30/	2.18.6
26 Mo. 400 10d nails @ 6/8	8.16.4
14 Mo. 8d ditto 5/4	3.14.8
1 mo. 20d ditto	0.10.0
14 Mo. 500 6d 4/	2.18.0
3 Mo. 20d Brads 9/6	1.8.6
20 Mo. 3d nails 2/3	2.5.0

3 dozen 9 size stones 20d	0.6.3
5 Mo. 2d nails 20d	0.8.4
754 (lbs.?) shot 24/	9.0.10
2 pitch forks	0.2.0
10 iron saddles 13 @ 18d	0.19.6
29 pair wool cards 20d	2.8.4
3 cooper compasses wood 2/8	0.8.0
3 stock locks 2/	0.6.0
2 pair hand mill stones and irons	3.5.4
2 spades	0.9.0
1 pair Water Millstones and irons	16.15.1
4 spooke shaves 20d	0.6.8
4 Mo. Sparrables 2/	0.8.0
4 dozen broad hoes 30/	6.2.6
3 heading knives 2/8	0.8.0
3 dozen 7 narrow hoes 20/	3.11.8
3 dozen narrow 38/	5.14.0
3 screens for Grain	3.0.0
31 (lbs.?) Glew 6d	0.15.6
2 pair large Steelyards damaged	2.8.0
1 pair Camm (Comm?) hooks	0.3.0
Spices & etc	
120 lbs. All Spice @ 16d	8.0.0
122 lbs. Pepper 16	8.2.8
142 Casteele Sope 19d	7.2.0
2 old brass kettles damages 47 lbs. 9d	1.15.10
190 lbs. Sheet Lead 3d.	2.7.6
1 Old Whip Saw	0.5.0
53 lbs. Bro(wn) Sugar 3d	0.13.0
69 3/4 lbs. Blew	5.13.0
17 1/2 hair powder 6d	0.8.9
3 lbs. Raw Coffee 3/	0.9.0
a parcel of Epsom Salts	1.0.0
1 cask Crown Sope (wt 56 lbs. ?) & 20 lbs. More 6d	1.18.0
Upholstery & etc	
8 course hair rugs 5/6	2.4.0
10 pair 6/5 blankets and 1 old one 5/	2.10.0
4 3/4 Yarn Rugs 6/	1.4.0
4 flock beds and furniture 35/	7.0.0
9 ditto Good 6/	27.0.0
Earthenware & etc	
1 dozen Stone Butter pots sorted 2/6	1.10.0
17 punch bowls sorted 9d	0.12.9
22 Dutch mugs	1.0.0
16 dozen 8 (?) Bro(wn) Mugs 7/6	6.5.7
2 dozen pint mugs 3/9	0.10.4
2 qt. (?) & 1 pint ditto 1/2 pint ditto	0.2.0
5 dozen (?) Porringers 3/	0.15.0
20 (?) Chamber pots 7 1/2	0.12.6
15 Red Milk pans 6/ dozen	0.7.6

10 mustard potts9d	0.1.8
1 gallon stone bottle 1/4	0.1.4
19 dozen (?) wine glasses 3/6	3.4.9
6 pint glasses d6	0.3.0
1 dozen 10 porringers 8 dozen 4 pints 5 dozen saucers	1.2.6
1 sallabub pot 1 sugar dish 1 milk pot 5 cupping glasses 2 (?) ditto	0.7.6
9 dozen 5 sash squares 6d	2.16.6
39 Gross Corks 2/3	4.7.9
Turnery & ca	
A parcel turnery ware	7.10.0
116 lbs. Spanish White 74 lbs. Red pinning (?)	1.3.9
20 lbs. Black Rozome 3d	0.5.0
a parcel Children's toys	1.10.0
a parcel of old trunks damaged Goods & etc in the Store	5.0.0
2 quilts one sail curtains & vallines damaged	2.10.0
Sundry New Goods	
2 dozen Perch lines 3/	0.6.0
6 dozen hooks 3d	0.1.6
3 dozen steel thimbles 18d	0.4.6
2 dozen spectacles and case 9/	0.18.0
11 pair Crystal ditto 13/6	0.13.6
6 pair black plain (Buckies?) (?Buckles) 7/6	0.3.9
5 pair ditto flooted ditto 15/	0.10.0
1 (Glazen?) Diamond	0.12.0
1 ditto sliding rule	0.2.3
6 reams old paper 11/3	3.7.6
2 books 6 qt each 9/ each	0.18.0
2 ditto 5 qt ditto 8/	0.16.0
2 ditto 4 qt ditto 6/8	0.13.4
2 ditto 3 qt. ditto 5/4	0.10.8
4 (Boxes?) Wafers 4 oz (?) 1/4	0.5.4
8 dozen 2 oz. Each 8d	0.5.4
6 Worsted caps No. A 13d/per	0.6.6
1 dozen ditto No. B	1.1.0
6 fine double ditto No. E 2/3	0.13.6
1 dozen ditto No. D 3	1.16.0
1 dozen ditto thread No. E 3/	1.16.0
1 dozen ditto No. F	1.19.0
1 dozen ditto Superfine No. G	2.5.0
1 dozen knitted Worsted hose No. H	1.17.0
1 dozen ditto ditto no. I	1.10.0
1 dozen ditto with clocks No. K	1.10.0
1 dozen wove ditto No. L	2.0.0
1 dozen men's short knit No. M	2.5.0
2 dozen ditto No. N 50/	5.0.0
7 pair worsted howled No. C @ 6/	2.2.0
21 pair ditto No. P 6/3	6.11.3
3 fine Duroys No 1 31/1	4.13.0
2 pairs fines ditto No. 2 42/	4.4.0
1 pair Sagatha No. 3 45/	2.5.0

1 pair double milled ditto No. 4 64/	3.4.0
1 piece Black and White carpe No. % 70	3.10.0
1 piece ditto No. 6 75/	3.15.0
I piece ditto No. 7 81/8	4.1.8
1 piece ditto No, 8 88/	4.8.0
1 piece ditto o. 9 94/8	4.14.8
5 pieces Shallone No. 11 51/	12.15.0
1 lbs. Twist and Silk	1.6.8
33 dozen Coat Buttons	1.5.5
33 dozen Beast Ditto	0.11.2
3 dozen Diaper Qurirtes	1.2.6
10 lbs. Black Rozome	0.2.6
1 bottle Linseed Oil	0.16.0
4 black and white silk handkerchiefs	0.10.0
2 dozen Women's Welted wash gloves 15/ per doz.	1.10.0
2 pieces White Dimothy No. 1 21/9	2.3.6
2 pieces ditto No. 2 = 22/9	2.5.6
1 piece Corded Dimothy No. 1	2.10.0
1 piece ditto No. 2	2.14.0
1 piece ditto No. 3	3.0.0
5 pieces & 4 :4 Buckram in all 95 1/2 yards 12d	4.15.6
3 dozen Cold and Bo thread 25/doz	3.15.0
1 dozen ditto broken No. b	1.10.0
12 lbs. Fine (Puns?) thread No. C	0.16.0
6 women's masks No. D 2/3	0.13.6
6 dozen best sail needles No. E 12d	0.6.0
1 dozen Middling Pins No. F 9/	0.9.0
2 dozen ditto No, G 10/6	0.5.3
1 dozen ditto large strong ditto No. H	0.12.0
5 oz. Black Silk 16d	0.6.8
1 lbs. Bast Cold ditto No. L	1.5.9
3 dozen hair sifters 10/6 dozen	1.11.6
3 dozen fine ditto 12/	1.16.0
1 dozen Launes ditto	0.18.0
Hats	
1 dozen boys felt No. 1	0.18.0
1 dozen ditto No. 2	1.0.0
1 dozen Men's ditto No. 3	1.2.0
1 dozen ditto No. 4	1.7.0
1 dozen ditto No. 5	1.10.0
1 dozen ditto No. 6	1.15.0
1 dozen Men's Caster No. 7 6/	3.12.0
1 dozen ditto No. 8 6/9	4.1.0
1 dozen ditto No. 9 7/6	4.10.0
1 dozen ditto No. 10 8/6	5.2.0
1 dozen ditto No. 11 10/	6.0.0
1 dozen ditto No. 12 11/	6.12.0
3 1/2 Barrels of gun powder	7.13.4
3 dozen Men's County falls 48/doz.	7.4.0
3 dozen ditto London ditto 66/	9.18.0

2 dozen boys large and small ditto 36/	3.12.0
3 dozen women's calves leather wood healed 42/	6.6.0
1 dozen Spanish Bound 66/	3.6.0
1 dozen ditto plain 48/	2.8.02
2 dozen men's Shamey Shoes 104/	10.8.0
2 dozen women's ditto 63/	6.6.0
6 pairs Men's Boots 18/8 pair	5.12.0
5 pieces Bo Ozenb. qt. 507 Ells @ 11d	23.4.9
Grocery & etc	
14 oz. Mace 20d/3	1.3.4
1 lbs. Nutmegs 3/4	0.3.4
1 lbs. Cloves	0.13.4
1 lbs. Cinnamon	0.13.4
30 lbs. Indigo 2/	3.0.0
46 Lbs. Pepper 2/	0.17.0
35 lbs. Raisins 5d	0.14.7
50 lbs. Rould Brimstone 3d 3/4	0.15.7 ½
10 lbs. Roasted Coffee 8/	4.0.0
6 Loves Sugar (wt 30 lbs.) 13d per lbs.	1.13.9
10 lbs. Bohea Tea 9/	4.10.0
1 Cask of Whitting	0.3.0
6 Steel Spades 4/9	2.2.0
9 Cases of Glass qt. 1800 foot 4/2	33.15.0
4 cases of lead (wt 400 lbs.) 30/	6.0.0
24 lbs. Londer 18d	1.16.0
6 Russia Leather Chairs 10/	3.0.0
2 half cases of Becttess Crown Glass	10.0.0
1 case of new Casteel ditto	0.3.0
Iron Wares & etc	
3 Mo. Sash Sprigs 12d	0.3.0
3 Mo. Glasses ditto 13 1/2 d	0.3.4 ½
10 Mo. 4d Brown ditto 2/9	1.7.6
20 Mo. 8d Nails 5/9	5.15.0
2 dozen Plain Irons Sorted 5/3 doz.	0.10.6
1 dozen joynter ditto	0.6.9
3 Ship Carpenter Axes 4/6	0.13.6
3 ditto 4/10	0.14.6
6 Lathing Hammers 4/9	0.10.6
1 dozen 2 foot rules	0.15.0
2 dozen hand saw files 2/6	0.5.0
1 dozen ditto 2/9	0.2.9
2 dozen chalk lines 2/3	0.4.6
30 Mo. 10 d Nails 7	15.10.0
10 Mo. 6d 4/3	2.2.6
15 Mo. 20d ditto 10/4	7.15.0
5 Mo. 4d Scupper ditto 3/	0.15.0
8 Bed Cords 14d	0.9.4
6 pieces China 25/6	7.13.0
The half of the Sloop *Dolphin* with two suits of sales, 2 anchors And cables with running & standing rigging	20.0.0

The Sloop *Contrivance*, one suit sales, 2 anchors and cables, one flat with running nand standing rigging	60.0.0
The Sloop *Fancy* one suit of sails, 2 anchors and cables, one flat with standing and running rigging	40.0.0
2 Spare Flats 4 lbs. each	8.0.0
2 New Anchors (wt 2 lbs. & 14 lbs.)	2.7.0
A parcel of old trunks	2.10.0
	£2066.15.4

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this 8th day of October, 1733.
Appraisers: William Chapman, Joseph Cowman

We as Creditor to the Deceased approve of this Inventory: Benjamin Moorehea, Richard Hill.

APPENDIX 6: RESOLUTION OF NON-IMPORTATION JUNE 22, 1769

Annapolis, (in Maryland) June 22, 1769[697]

We, the Subscribers, his Majesty's loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Merchants, Traders, Freeholders, Mechanics, and other Inhabitants of the Province of Maryland, seriously considering the present State and Condition of the Province, and being sensible, that there is a Necessity to agree upon such Measures, as may tend to discourage, and as much as may be, prevent the Use of foreign Luxuries and Superfluities, in the Consumption of which, we have heretofore too much indulged ourselves, to the great Detriment of our private Fortunes, and, in some Instances, to the Ruin of Families; and, to this End, to practice ourselves, and, as much as possible, to promote, countenance, and encourage in others, a Habit of Temperance, Frugality, Oeconomy, and Industry; and considering also, that Measures of this Nature are more particularly necessary at this Time, as the Parliament of Great-Britain, by imposing Taxes upon many Articles imported hither from thence, and from other Parts beyond Sea, have left it less in our Power, than in Time past, to purchase and pay for the Manufactures of the Mother-Country; which Taxes, especially those imposed by a late Act of Parliament, laying Duties on Tea, Paper, Glass, &c. we are clearly convinced have been imposed contrary to the Spirit of our Constitution, and have a direct and manifest Tendency to deprive us, in the End, of all political Freedom, and reduce us to a State of Dependence, inconsistent with that Liberty we have rightfully enjoyed under the Government of his present most Sacred Majesty, (to whom we owe, acknowledge, and will always joyfully pay all due Obedience, and Allegiance) and of his royal Predecessors, ever since the first Settlement of the Province, until of very late Time; have thought it necessary to unite, as nearly as our Circumstances will admit, with our Sister Colonies, in Resolutions for the Purpose aforesaid; and therefore, do hereby agree, and bind ourselves to, and with each other, by all the Ties and Obligations of Honour and Reputation, that we will strictly and faithfully observe, and conform to the following Resolutions:

First, that we will not, at any Time hereafter, directly, or indirectly, import, or cause to be imported, any Manner of Goods, Merchandize, or Manufactures, which are, or shall hereafter be taxed by Act of Parliament, for the Purpose of raising a Revenue in America, (except Paper not exceeding Six Shillings per Ream, and except such Articles only, as Orders have been already sent for) but, that we will always consider such Taxation, in every Respect, as an absolute Prohibition to the Articles that are, or may be taxed.

Secondly, That we will not hereafter, directly, or indirectly, during the Continuance of the aforesaid Act of Parliament, import, or cause to be imported, from Great-Britain, or any other Part of Europe, (except such Articles of the Produce, or Manufacture of Ireland, as may be immediately, and legally brought from thence, and also, except all such Goods as Orders have been already sent for) any of the Goods hereinafter enumerated, to wit. Horses, Spirits, Wine, Cyder, Perry, Beer, Ale, Malt, Barley, Pease, Beef, Pork, Fish, Butter, Cheese, Tallow,

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[697] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland 1769-1770.* Ed. Raphael Semmes (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1945), 62: 457-462. Also see the circular letter printed in the *Maryland Gazette*, May 11, 1769.

Candles, Oil, except Salad-Oil, Fruit, Pickles, Confectionary, British refined Sugar, Mustard, Coffee, Pewter, Tinware of all Kinds, whether plain, or painted, Waiters, and all Kind of Japan-Ware, wrought Copper, wrought and cast Brass, and Bell-Metal, Watches, Clocks, Plate, and all other Gold and Silversmiths Work, Trinkets, and Jewellery of all Kinds, Gold and Silver Lace, Joiners and Cabinet Work of all Sorts, Looking-Glasses, Upholstery of all Kinds, Carriages of all Kinds, Ribbons and Millinery of all Kinds, (except Wig-Ribbon) Lace, Cambrick, Lawn, Muslin, Kenting, Gauze of all Kinds, (except Boulting-Clothes,) Silks of all Kinds, (except raw and sewing Silk, and Wig-Cauls,) Velvets, Chintzes, and Calicoes of all Sorts, of more than Twenty Pence per Yard, East-India Goods of every Kind, (except Saltpetre, Black Pepper, and Spices,) printed Linens, and printed Cottons, striped Linens, and Cottons, Check Linens, and Cotton Checks of all Kinds, Handkerchiefs of all Kinds, at more than Ten Shillings per Dozen, Cotton Velvets, and all Kind of Cotton, or Cotton and Linen Stuffs, Bed-Bunts, and Bed-Ticking of all Sorts, Cotton Counterpanes and Coverlids, British manufactured Linens of all Kinds, (except Sail-Cloth,) Irish and all foreign Linens, above One Shilling and Six Pence per Yard, Woollen Cloth, above Five Quarters wide, of more than Five Shillings per Yard, narrow Clothes of all Sorts, of more than Three Shillings per Yard, Worsted Stuffs of all Sorts, above Thirteen Pence per Yard, Silk and Worsted, Silk and Cotton, Silk and Hair, and Hair and Worsted Stuffs of all Kinds, Worsted and Hair Shags, Mourning of all and every Kind, Stockings, Caps, Waistcoat and Breeches Patterns of all Kinds, Rugs of all Sorts, above Eight Shillings, Blankets, above Five Shillings per Blanket, Mens and Womens ready made Cloaths, and wearing Apparel of all Kinds, Hats of all Kinds, of more than Two Shillings per Hat, Wigs, Gloves, and Mits of all Kinds, Stays and Bodices of all Sorts, Boots, Saddles, and all Manufactures of Leather and Skins of all Kinds, (except Mens and Womens Shoes, of not more than Four Shillings per Pair), Whips, Brushes, and Brooms of all Sorts, Gilt, and Hair Trunks, Paintings, Carpets of all Sorts, Snuff Boxes, Snuff, and other manufactured Tobacco, Soap, Starch, playing Cards, Dice, English China, English Ware, in Imitation of China, Delph, and Stone Ware of all Sorts, (except Milk-Pans, Stone Bottles, Jugs, Pitchers, and Chamber-Pots,) Marble and wrought Stone of any Kind, (except Scythe Stones, Mill Stones, and Grind Stones,) Iron Castings, Ironmongery of all Sorts, (except Nails, Hoes, Steel, Handicraft and Manufacturers Tools) Locks, Frying-Pans, Scythes, and Sickles, Cutlery of all Sorts, (except Knives and Forks, not exceeding Three Shillings per Dozen, Knives, Scissors, Sheep Shears, Needles, Pins and Thimbles, Razors, Chirurgical Instruments, and Spectacles,) Cordage, or tarr'd Rope of all Sorts, Seans, Ships Colours ready made, Ivory, Horn, and Bone Ware of all Sorts, (except Combs.)

Thirdly, That we will not, during the Time aforesaid, import any Wines, of any Kind whatever, or purchase the same from any Person whatever, except such Wines as are already imported, or for which Orders are already sent.

Fourthly, That we will not kill, or suffer to be killed, or sell, or dispose, to any Person, whom we have Reason to believe intends to kill, any Ewe-Lamb that shall be yeaned before the First Day of May in any Year, during the Time aforesaid.

Fifthly, That we will not, directly, or indirectly, during the Time aforesaid, purchase, take up, or receive, on any Terms, or Conditions whatever, any of the Goods enumerated in the Second Resolution, that shall, or may be imported into this Province, contrary to the Intent and Design of these Resolutions, by any

Person whatever, or consigned to any Factor, Agent, Manager, or Storekeeper here, by any Person residing in Great-Britain, or else where; and if any such Goods shall be imported, we will not, upon any Consideration whatever, rent, or sell to, or permit any Way to be made Use of by any such Importer, his Agent, Factor, Manager, or Storekeeper, or any Person, on his, or their Behalf, any Store-House, or other House, or any Kind of Place whatever, belonging to us, respectively, for exposing to Sale, or even securing any such Goods, nor will we suffer any such to be put on Shore on our respective Properties.

Sixthly, That if any Person shall import, or endeavour to import, from Great-Britain, or any Part of Europe, any Goods whatever, contrary to the Spirit and Design of the foregoing Resolutions, or shall sell any Goods which he has now, or may hereafter have on Hand, or may import, on any other Terms than are herein expressed, we will not, at any Time hereafter, deal with any such Person, his Agent, Manager, Factor, or Storekeeper, for any Commodity what-ever; and that such of us as are, or may be sellers of Goods, will not take any Advantage of the Scarcity of Goods that this Agreement may occasion, but will sell such as we have now on Hand, or may hereafter import, or have for Sale, at the respective usual and accustomed Rates for Three Years last past.

Seventhly, That we will not, during the Time aforesaid, import into this Province, any of the Goods above enumerated for Non-Importation, in the Second Resolution, which have been, or shall be imported from Great-Britain, or some Part of Europe, from any Colony, or Province, which hath not entered or shall not, within Two Months from the Date hereof, enter into Resolutions of Non-Importation, nor will we purchase, take up, or receive, on any Terms, or Conditions whatever, any such Goods, from any Person, or Persons, that may import the same; nor will we purchase, take up, or receive, on any Terms, or Conditions, any of the said Goods, which may be imported from any Province, or Colony, which has entered, or may enter into such Resolutions, unless a Certificate shall accompany such Goods, under the Hands of a Committee of Merchants (if any) of the Place from whence such Goods shall come, or if no such Committee, then under the Hands of at least Three of the principal Merchants there, who have entered into Resolutions of Non-importation, that such Goods were imported before such Resolution was entered into in such Place. And, that we will not purchase, take up, or receive, on any Terms, or Conditions whatever, after the Expiration of Six Months, from the Date hereof, from any Colony, or Province aforesaid, any of the said enumerated Articles, which have been, or shall be imported from Great-Britain.

Eighthly, We, the Tradesmen and Manufacturers, do likewise promise, and agree, that we will not avail ourselves of the Scarcity of European Goods, proceeding from the Resolutions for Non-importation, to raise, or enhance the Prices of the different Articles, or Commodities, by us wrought up, or manufactured; but that we will sell and dispose of the same, at the usual and accustomed Rates we have done for these Three Years past.

Lastly, That, if any Person, or Persons whatever, shall oppose, or contravene the above Resolutions, or act in Oposition to the true Spirit and Design thereof, we will consider him, or them, as Enemies to the Liberties of America, and treat them, on all Occasions, with the Contempt they deserve; provided that these Resolutions shall be binding on us, for, and during the Continuance of the before-mentioned Act of Parliament, unless a general Meeting of such Persons at Annapolis, as may, at any Time hereafter, be requested by the People of the several

Counties in this Province, to meet, for the Purpose of considering the Expediency of dispensing with the said Resolutions, or any of them, not exceeding Four from each County, or a Majority of such of them as shall attend, shall determine otherwise.

[Signed]
Robert Lloyd, William Thomas, Michael Earl, John Hanson, jun. William Rumsey, Walter Hanson, Joseph Gilpin, Philip Richard Fendall, Benjamin Rumsey, William Smallwood, Thomas Ringgold, William Murdock, Thomas Smyth, Robert Tyler, Edward Tilghman, Josias Beall, James Hollyday, Joseph Sim, Thomas Wright, Young Parran, Matthew Tilghman, Edward Gantt, James Dickinson, Charles Grahame, James Lloyd Chamberlaine, Benjamin Mackall, 4th. Robert Goldsborough, 4th., Brice T. B. Worthington, Charles Dickinson, James Dick, James Murray, John Dorsey, William Ennalls, Charles Carroll, Thomas Muse, John Smith, Peter Chaille, Jonathan Plowman, William Whittington,n Charles Ridgely, jun., Abraham Barnes, John Eden, John Beale Howard.

APPENDIX 7: AN ACCOUNT OF THE BURNING OF THE PEGGY STEWART[698]

Richard Jackson late of the Province of Maryland in North America Mariner voluntarily make oath that he the said Richard Jackson was employed by Mr. Anthony Stewart of the city of Annapolis in the year 1773 and 1774 as master of a Vessel and he commanded the brigantine *Peggy Stewart* belonging to Mr. Anthony Stewart and Co., on a voyage from Annapolis to London, and on or about the 14th day of October 1774, this disponent arrived at the Port of Annapolis aforesaid in the said brigantine from London, having on board upward of 50 indented servants under engagements to the owners of the said brigantine and a cargo of goods upon freight consignment to Mr. Thomas Charles Williams & Co. Merchants in Annapolis. And this desponent sayeth that among other goods consigned to Mr. Thomas Charles Williams & Co., there were 17 chest and a half chest of Tea, and this despont sayeth that immediately on his arrival he waited on Mr. Anthony Stewart, and told him that the people were murmuring about tea being on board the brigantine, as it is liable to a duty imposed by the British Parliament and threatened that it should neither be entered or landed and on being informed of this, this deponent sayeth that Mr. Anthony Stewart went immediately with the deponent to the Custom House and there entered the said brigantine and her cargo and lodged with the Deputy Collector a Bill of Exchange for the payment to the duty on the tea and this deponent saith that on the evening of the day on which the brigantine *Peggy Stewart* was entered at the Custom House the Committee of Annapolis called a meeting of the inhabitants to enquire into the transaction at which meeting Mr. Anthony Stewart, Mr. John Muir, the Deputy Collector and this deponent were ordered to attend that accordingly. Mr. Muir and this deponent did attend but Mr. Stewart did not attend and this deponent saith that after the meeting had chosen John Hall, a lawyer there, Chairman they proceeded to enquire into the circumstance of the arrival and the entry of the brigantine and this deponent saith that John Muir the deputy collected being called upon asked by the chairman who paid the duty on the Tea whereupon Mr. Muir informed the meeting that Mr. Anthony Stewart had paid on the tea and this deponent saith that the said Mr. John Muir added that it was much against his inclination to do anything against the interest of the Colonies but as Mr. Stewart had insisted on the brigantine being entered he was obliged to receive the duty on the tea and this deponent saith that the meeting was much enraged at Mr. Stewart conduct and some of the meeting purposed that the tea should be immediately landed and burnt under the gallows and this deponent saith that Mr. Mathias Hammond objected to that proposal alleging that it was not proper to do anything in the matter until the county was assembled and this deponent saith that a day was proposed and that the Wednesday following, being the 19th was fixed on for a meeting of the people, notice of which was given by printed hand bills being dispersed through the county and this disponent saith that at the meeting above mentioned a guard was appointed on the brigantine to prevent the Tea from being landed or removed from on board and the guard came on board everyday until the brigantine was destroyed and this deponent saith that on Wednesday 19th of October a number of people from

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[698] Transcribed by the author from the Public Record Office, London: Loyalist Papers AO13/62.98002, pg. 339-340.

different parts of the province met at Annapolis and that he this deponent being present heard a great many threats uttered against Mr. Stewart's life and property on account of his having entered the Tea and this deponent saith that it was proposed at the meeting that the tea and register of the brigantine should be burned and the brigantine name altered from *Peggy Stewart* to Wilks and Liberty that Doctor Warfield proposed that the brigantine and tea should both be burnt and Mr. Stewart obliged to build another and call her Wilks and Liberty and this deponent saith that soon after the people assembled that he this deponent was on board the brigantine *Peggy Stewart* and that about two hours after he had been on board several ringleaders of the mob came and board and brought Mr. Stewart and Messer. Joseph & James William with them and this deponent saith that soon after a messenger came from the shore and told Mr. Stewart that some of the people were against burning the brigantine but that Mr. Rezin Hammond and Mr. Charles Ridgley who where then on board told Mr. Stewart in this deponents hearing that if he not immediately set fire to the brigantine that his house and family would be in danger that night and added that if he did set fire to the brigantine they would protect him from any further danger that this deponent saith upon these threats and assurances Mr. Stewart and Mr. Joseph & James William jointly set fire to the brigantine and tea which were consumed to ashes and this deponent saith that the said brigantine was burnt with all her sail and rigging standing and colours flying and that he this deponent was not suffered to remove any of the apparel of furniture belonging to the said brigantine.

(Signed) Richard Jackson, and sworn before Sir. John Fielding, the original deposition will be found in the Treasury annexed to the Memorial of Anthony Stewart and Thomas Charles Williams.

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Deeds Liber WGS18, folio 173; 1833.
Deeds Liber WSG13, folio 314; 1828.
Deeds Liber WT1, folio 271; 1673.
Deeds Liber WT2, folio 143; 1703
Deeds Liber WT2, folio 48; 1684

Land Office (Rent Rolls) 1639-1776
Collection: MSA S18
Deeds, Rent Roll Liber 1, folio 36; 1650-1776.

Maryland Gazette* (Newspaper) *1727-1839
M1007 and M1278-M1291 (microfilm reels).

Probate, Prerogative Court
Provincial Wills
Collections: MSA S538, Microfilm - (Wills), 1635-1777
MSA S540 - (Wills, Original), 1666-1777

Probate Will Liber 18, folio 89; 1687: William Burges.
Probate Wills Liber TG1, folio 71; 1778: James Dick.
Probate Wills, Liber JG1, folio179, 1790: Delia Lusby.
Probate Wills, Liber TTS1, folio 329,1838: Jacob Slemaker.

Probate, Prerogative Court
Provincial Inventories & Accounts
Collections: MSA S536, Microfilm - (Inventories and Accounts), 1674-1718
MSA S1279 - (Inventories and Accounts, Original Record), 1709-1715
MSA S534, Microfilm - (Inventories), 1718-1777
MSA S1278 - (Inventories, Original Record), 1719-1758

Probate Accounts Liber TG1, folio 142; 1784: James Dick.

Probate Inventory Liber 10, folio 150-172; 1733: Samuel Peele.
Probate Inventory Liber 106, folio 274, 1770: Alexander Ferguson.
Probate Inventory Liber 106, folio 274; 1773: Alexander Ferguson.
Probate Inventory Liber 21, folio 12, 1734: Richard Moore.
Probate Inventory Liber 27, folio 232; 1743: John Dixon.
Probate Inventory Liber 36, folio 211, 1768: William Strachan.
Probate Inventory Liber 43, folio 72; 1750: Anthony Beck.
Probate Inventory Liber TG1, folio 145; 1783: James Dick.

Anne Arundel County Court
(Judgment Records)
Collection: MSA C91

Judgments Liber TB2, folio 50; 1709.
Judgments Liber IB1, folio 78; 1734.
Judgments Liber IB2, folio 224; 1737.
Judgments Liber IB2, folio 244; 1737.
Judgments Liber IB6, folio 215; 1746.
Judgments Liber ISB2, folio 98; 1751.

Miscellaneous Records
Anne Arundel Co. Trustees of the Poor (Almshouse Minute Book) 1820-71
Collection: CM950

Governor and the Council of Maryland
"Commission Book 82" 1733-1750, 1761-1773
Collection: SM171; MSA No.: S 1080-4; Microfilm: SM 171-2

"Council of Safety"
Collection: SH24

Naval Officer Records
Port of Entry Collection, 1745-75
Collections: MSA SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm)
MSA S204-3 pg. 31-99, 131-194. (Annapolis)

Repository:

Maryland Historical Trust

Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development
Crownsville, Maryland http://www.marylandhistoricaltrust.net

National Register of Historic Place, Maryland

SM-57,58,59,383	St. Xavier Church, Newtown Manor House
D-83	Yarmouth (White House Farm)
S-71	Rehobeth Presbyterian Church
CH-372	Port Tobacco Historic District

Maryland Archaeological Site Survey Reports

18KE291	New Yarmouth Church
18CV225	Leonard South
18CV222	St. Leonard House
18TA302	Kingston Landing
18TA30	Doncaster Historic Town
18HA30	Old Baltimore
18PR6	Mt. Calvert

Repository:

Public Record Office

Kew, Richmond, Surrey
England, United Kingdom http://www.pro.gov.uk

Treasury Papers, 1557-1920

Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Papers
Items: T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999
T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999
T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999

Loyalist Papers

Item: AO13/62.98002, pg. 339-343.

Repository:

National Archives of Scotland

Edinburgh, Scotland, United Kingdom http://www.nas.gov.uk

Register of Deeds, Books of Council and Session

Items: 1699 SRO; RD.4/84, f. 825
1700 SRO; RD2.2/84, f. 940
1701 SRO; .2/84, f. 1089; RD.2 /85, f. 730, 760, 800; RD.3/95 f. 323; RD.3/96 f. 462; D.4/89, f. 131;RD.2 /85, f. 730

Durie Collection

Item: RD3/193; 1 Oct 1735-April 30 1736

Repository:

United States Geological Survey

Department of the Interior, United States http://www.usgs.gov

The Geographic Names Information System (GNIS), developed by the USGS in cooperation with the U.S. Board on Geographic Names (BGN), contains information about almost 2 million physical and cultural geographic features in the United States and its territories. http://geonames.usgs.gov (See online database.)

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